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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

VIII

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

EARNEST CARY, Ph.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF

HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, Ph.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES

VIII

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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EPITOME[1] OF BOOK LXI

LX 29 Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει ὅ τε Κλαύδιος τὸ τέταρτον
καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος[2] Λούκιος τὸ τρίτον, ὀκτακο-
σιοστοῦ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτους ὄντος, ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ
ἐξήλασε μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιός τινας καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς,
ὧν οἱ πλείονες οὐκ ἄκοντες ἐξέπεσον ἀλλ' ἐθε-
λονταὶ διὰ πενίαν παρέμενοι,[3] ἀντεσήγαγε δὲ
2 ὁμοίως πολλούς. ἐπειδή τε Σουρδίνιός τις Γάλλος
βουλεῦσαι δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐξῴκησε,
σπουδῇ τε αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἔφη ὅτι
"χρυσαῖς σε πέδαις δήσω." καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῷ
ἀξιώματι πεδηθεὶς κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε· τοὺς
μέντοι ἀλλοτρίους ἀπελευθέρους ὁ Κλαύδιος, εἴ
3 που κακουργοῦντας λάβοι, δεινῶς τιμωρῶν, τοῖς
ἰδίοις οὕτω προσέκειτο ὥσθ' ὑποκριτοῦ τινος ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ ποτὲ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον
εἰπόντος ὅτι "ἀφόρητός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν μαστι-
γίας," καὶ τοῦ τε δήμου παντὸς ἐς Πολύβιον τὸν
ἀπελεύθερον αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέψαντος, καὶ ἐκείνου
ἐκβοήσαντος ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέντοι ποιητὴς εἶπεν ὅτι
"βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο χοί[4] πρὶν ὄντες αἰπόλοι,"
4 οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο. μηνυθέντων δέ

[1] See Vol. I., Introd., pp. xviii–xxiii.
[2] Οὐιτέλλιος Bk., βιτέλιος VCL' regularly
[3] παρέμενοι Reim., παρέμενον MSS.
[4] χοί Leuncl., οἱ MSS.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

EPITOME OF BOOK LXI

In the following year, which was the eight hundredth year of Rome, Claudius became consul for the fourth and Lucius Vitellius for the third time. Claudius now expelled from the senate certain of its members, most of whom were not sorry to drop out, but willingly resigned on account of their poverty; and he likewise introduced many new men in their place. And when a certain Surdinius Gallus, who was eligible to serve as a senator, emigrated to Carthage, Claudius summoned him back in haste, declaring he would bind him with golden fetters; thus Gallus, fettered by his rank, remained at home. Although Claudius visited dire punishment upon the freedmen of others, in case he caught them in any wrong-doing, he was very lenient with his own, as the following incident will show. Once when an actor in the theatre recited the well-known line, A.D. 47

"A prosperous whipstock scarce can be endured,"

and the whole assemblage thereupon looked at Polybius, the emperor's freedman, the latter shouted out: "Yes, but the same poet said:

'Who once were goatherds now have royal power.'"[1]

Yet Claudius did him no harm. Information was

[1] Menander, *Epitrepontes*, v. 116. The other line (Adespota 487 Kock) is not found in any extant play.

τινων ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιεν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν χρὴ τρόπον ψύλλαν τε καὶ θηρίον ἀμύνεσθαι," ὁ δὲ Ἀσιατικὸς ἐκρίθη μὲν παρ' αὐτῷ
5 *ὀλίγου*[1] *δὲ δεῖν ἀπέφυγεν. ἀρνουμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι "οὐκ οἶδα οὐδὲ γνωρίζω τῶν καταμαρτυρούντων μου τούτων οὐδένα," ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ στρατιώτης ὁ φάσκων αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι ὅστις ὁ Ἀσιατικὸς εἴη, φαλακρόν τινα προσεστῶτα κατὰ τύχην ἔδειξε· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύμβολον*
6 *μόνον ἠπίστατο. γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν μέλλοντος, ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος τῇ Μεσσαλίνῃ χαριζόμενος παρακεκλῆσθαι ἔφη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἵν' ὅπως ἂν βουληθῇ ἀποθάνῃ. ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπίστευσέ τε αὐτὸν ὄντως ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ συνειδὸς κατεγνωκέναι, καὶ κατεχρήσατο.*—Xiph. 141, 30–142, 25 R. St.

6a *Ἄλλους δὲ πολλοὺς διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ τὸν Ἀσιατικὸν καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν τὸν Μάγνον ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν μὲν Ἀσιατικὸν διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸν δὲ Μάγνον διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ κῆδος. ἑάλωσαν μέντοι ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισίν.*—Zon. 11, 9, p. 30, 1–6 D.

7[1] *Ἀνεφάνη δὲ καὶ νησίδιόν τι ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ παρὰ τῇ Θήρᾳ τῇ νήσῳ, οὐκ ὂν πρότερον.*—Xiph. 142, 25. 26 R. St.

7a *Ὅτι Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμον προὔθηκε, μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ*

[1] ὀλίγου Bk., *καὶ ὀλίγου* MSS.

given that some persons were plotting against A.D. 47
Claudius, but he paid no attention to most of them, saying: "It doesn't do to take the same measures against a flea as against a wild beast." Asiaticus, however, was tried before him and came very near being acquitted. For he entered a general denial, declaring, "I have no knowledge of nor acquaintance with any of these persons who are testifying against me;" and when the soldier who declared that he had been associated with him, upon being asked to identify Asiaticus, pointed out a baldheaded man who chanced to be standing near him,—for baldness was the only distinguishing mark about Asiaticus of which he was sure,—and a great burst of laughter arose at this, and Claudius was on the point of freeing Asiaticus, Vitellius made the statement, as a favour to Messalina, that the prisoner had sent for him in order to choose the manner of his death. Upon hearing this Claudius believed that Asiaticus had really condemned himself by reason of a guilty conscience, and he accordingly put him out of the way.

Among many others whom he put to death upon false charges brought by Messalina were Asiaticus and also Magnus, his own son-in-law. The former lost his life because of his property, and the latter because of his family and his relationship to the emperor.[1] Nominally, however, they were convicted on other charges.

This year a small islet, hitherto unknown, made its appearance close to the island of Thera.

Claudius, the king of the Romans, promulgated a law to the effect that no senator might travel more

[1] See lx. 5.

σημείων τῆς πόλεως ὁδεύειν χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσεως.—Suid. *s.v.* Κλαύδιος *gl.* 2.

7[2] Ἐπειδή τε πολλοὶ δούλους ἀρρωστοῦντας οὐδεμιᾶς θεραπείας ἠξίουν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐξέβαλλον, ἐνομοθέτησε πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου περιγενομένους[1] ἐλευθέρους εἶναι.—Xiph. 142, 26–29 R. St. (Zon., Suid.).

7[b] Ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ καθήμενόν τινα ἐπὶ ἅρματος διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλαύνειν.—Suid. *s.v.* Κλαύδιος *gl.* 2.

30 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ περιστοιχισθέντος[2] τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ποτὲ καὶ κινδυνεύοντος φθαρῆναι, ὁ Τίτος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῷ πατρὶ δείσας τήν τε περίσχεσιν αὐτῶν παραλόγῳ τόλμῃ διέρρηξε, κἀκ τούτου φεύγοντάς
2 σφας ἐπιδιώξας ἔφθειρεν. ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτὸν χειρίσας καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπῃνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε.—Xiph. 142, 29–143, 3 R. St.

3 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὁπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ πολλοὺς ὅσους καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ[3] εἴδει τῆς θέας ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Exc. Val. 224 (p. 674).

4 Γναῖος δὲ Δομίτιος Κορβούλων ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ στρατηγῶν τά τε στρατεύματα συνεκρότησε, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄλλους τε καὶ οὓς ἐκάλουν Καύχους ἐκάκωσε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ

[1] περιγενομένους L' Zon. Suid., περιγιγνομένους VC.
[2] περιστοιχισθέντος Bk., περιστοιχηθέντος MSS.
[3] τῷ supplied by Rk.

than seven "markers" [1] from the City without the king's orders. A.D. 47

Since many masters refused to care for their slaves when sick, and even drove them out of their houses, he enacted a law that all slaves who survived such treatment should be free.

He also forbade anybody to drive through the City [2] seated in a vehicle.

In Britain Vespasian had on a certain occasion been hemmed in by the barbarians and been in danger of destruction, but his son Titus, becoming alarmed for his father, managed by unusual daring to break through their enclosing lines and then pursued and destroyed the fleeing enemy.[3] Plautius for his skilful and successful conduct of the war in Britain not only was praised by Claudius but also obtained an ovation.

In the gladiatorial combats many persons took part, not only of the foreign freedmen but also the British captives. He used up ever so many men in this part of the spectacle and took pride in the fact.

Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo while commanding in Germany concentrated his legions and harassed among other barbarians the Cauchi, as they were called. While in the midst of the enemy's territory

[1] A mile, according to Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, III. p. 912, n. 1), though the use of *σημεῖον* for *στάδιον* is not paralleled elsewhere. Another interpretation is "more than seven miles," taking *σημεῖον* in the sense of milestone.

[2] A comparison of Suet. *Claud.* 25 makes it probable that Dio wrote "cities," referring to all the Italian towns.

[3] As Titus was born in the year 39 (cf. lxvi. 18, 4), there is manifestly some error here, probably on Xiphilinus' part. Boissevain suggests that Dio in his fuller narrative may have inserted at this point the statement that in the Judaean campaign his life was once saved by Titus.

ὄντα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀνεκάλεσε· τήν τε γὰρ ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν μαθὼν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν
5 *αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῆναι. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κορβούλων ἐπανῆλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀναβοήσας "ὦ μακάριοι οἱ πάλαι ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντες," ἐς δήλωσιν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀκινδύνως ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἐξῆν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἐνεποδίσθη. τιμῶν μέντοι*
6 *ἐπινικίων*[1] *καὶ ὣς ἔτυχε. πιστευθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἤσκει αὐτό, καὶ ἐπειδή γε εἰρήνουν, διετάφρευσε δι' αὐτῶν πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Μόσου,*[2] *σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα μὴ οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πλημμυρίδι ἀναρρέοντες πελαγίζωσιν.*—Xiph. 143, 3–16 R. St.

6a *Γεννηθέντος δὲ οἱ ἐγγόνου ἐκ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τῆς θυγατρός, ἣν Κορνηλίῳ Φαύστῳ Σύλλᾳ ἀδελφῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ὄντι μετὰ τὸν τοῦ*[3] *Μάγνου συνῴκισε θάνατον, οὐδὲν ἐφῆκε*[4] *ψηφισθῆναι μετριοφρονῶν.*

6b *Ἡ δὲ Μεσσαλῖνα καὶ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ ἐξώγκωντο. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς οἱ μάλιστα τὸ κράτος διειληφότες· ὅ τε Κάλλιστος, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο, καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, ὃς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπεστάτει, διὸ καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον παρεζώννυτο, καὶ ὁ Πάλλας, ᾧ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησις ἐμπεπίστευτο.*—Zon. 11, 9, p. 30, 10–19 D.

31 *Ὅτι ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξαρκοῦν οἱ ὅτι καὶ ἐμοιχεύετο καὶ ἐπορνεύετο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα*

[1] *τιμῶν μέντοι ἐπινικίων* Xyl., *τῶν μέντοι ἐπινικίων* MSS.
[2] *Μόσου* Xyl , *μέσου* MSS.

he was recalled by Claudius; for the emperor, learning of his valour and the discipline of his army, would not permit him to become more powerful. Corbulo, when informed of this, turned back, merely exclaiming: "How happy those who led our armies in olden times." By this he meant that the generals of other days had been permitted to exhibit their prowess without danger, whereas he himself had been blocked by the emperor by reason of jealousy. Yet even so he obtained the triumphal honours. Upon being placed once more in command of the army he drilled it no less thoroughly, and as the native tribes were at peace, he caused his men to dig a canal all the way across from the Rhine to the Maas, a distance of about twenty-three miles, in order to prevent the rivers from flowing back and causing inundations at the flood-tide of the Ocean. A.D. 47

When a grandson was born to Claudius by his daughter Antonia (after the death of Magnus he had given her in marriage to Cornelius Faustus Sulla, Messalina's brother), he had the good sense not to allow any decree to be passed in honour of the occasion. A.D. 48

Messalina and his freedmen were puffed up with conceit. There were three of the latter in particular who divided the power among themselves: Callistus, who had charge of Petitions; Narcissus, who was chief Secretary, and hence wore a dagger at his side; and Pallas, who was entrusted with the administration of the Finances.

Messalina, as if it were not enough for her to play the adulteress and harlot,—for in addition to her

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[3] τοῦ A, om. BCE^c. [4] ἐφῆκε Bs., ἀφῆκε MSS.

αἰσχρῶς[1] *ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐπ' οἰκήματος ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτή τε ἐκαθέζετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πρώτας ἐκάθιζε), καὶ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἄνδρας,*
2 *τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου,*[2] *πολλοὺς ἔχειν. καὶ σύμπασιν ἂν τοῖς χρωμένοις αὐτῇ κατὰ συμβόλαια συνῴκησεν, εἰ μήπερ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φωραθεῖσα ἀπώλετο. τέως μὲν γὰρ οἱ Καισάρειοι πάντες ὡμολόγουν αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πολύβιον, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνῳ πλησιάζουσα, καὶ διέβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκέτι αὐτῇ*[3] *ἐπίστευον, κἀκ τούτου ἐρημωθεῖσα τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐνοίας*
3 *ἐφθάρη. τόν τε γὰρ Σίλιον τὸν Γάιον, τὸν τοῦ Σιλίου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου σφαγέντος υἱόν,*[4] *ἄνδρα ἐπεγράψατο, καὶ τούς τε γάμους πολυτελῶς εἱστίασε καὶ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἐχαρίσατο, πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν τοῦ Κλαυδίου κειμηλίων συμφορήσασα ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τέλος*
4 *ὕπατον αὐτὸν*[5] *ἀπέφηνε. ταῦτ' οὖν πρότερον μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀκουόμενα καὶ ὁρώμενα τὸν γοῦν Κλαύδιον ἐλάνθανεν· ὡς δ' οὗτός τε*[6] *ἐς τὰ Ὤστια πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν σίτου κατέβη, καὶ ἐκείνη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ νοσοῦσα, ὑπελείφθη, συμπόσιόν τέ τι περιβόητον συνεκρότησε καὶ κῶμον ἀσελγέστατον ἐκώμασεν, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Νάρκισσος μονωθέντι τῷ Κλαυδίῳ μηνύει διὰ τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ πάντα*

[1] *αἰσχρῶς* Bk., *ἰσχυρῶς* cod. Peir.
[2] *τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου* cod. Peir., *τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ νόμου* Xiph., *κατὰ νόμον* Joann. Antioch., om. Zon.
[3] *αὐτῇ* Zon., *αὐτὴν* cod. Peir.

shameless behaviour in general she at times sat as a prostitute in the palace herself and compelled the other women of the highest rank to do the same,—now conceived a desire to have many husbands, that is, men really bearing that title. And she would have been married by a legal contract to all those who enjoyed her favours, had she not been detected and destroyed in her very first attempt. For a time, indeed, all the imperial freedmen had been hand in glove with her and would do nothing except in agreement with her; but when she falsely accused Polybius and caused his death, even while she was maintaining improper relations with him, they no longer trusted her; and thus, having lost their good-will, she perished. It came about on this wise. She caused Gaius Silius, son of the Silius slain by Tiberius, to be registered as her husband, celebrated the marriage in costly fashion, bestowed a royal residence upon him, in which she had already brought together the most valuable of Claudius' heirlooms; and finally she appointed him consul. Now all these doings, though for some time they had been either heard about or witnessed by everybody else, continued to escape the notice of Claudius. But finally, when he went down to Ostia to inspect the grain supply and she was left behind in Rome on the pretext of being ill, she got up a banquet of no little renown and carried on a most licentious revel. Then Narcissus, having got Claudius by himself, informed him through his concubines of all that was A.D. 48

[4] *τὸν τοῦ Σιλίου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου σφαγέντος υἱὸν* Zon., *τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ σφαγέντος ὃν* cod. Peir.
[5] *αὐτὸν* Zon., om. Xiph. cod. Peir.
[6] *οὗτός τε* Xiph., *οὐ τότε* cod. Peir.

5 τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ ἐκφοβήσας αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ τὸν Σίλιον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντικαθιστάναι μελλούσης, ἀνέπεισε συλλαβεῖν τινας καὶ βασανίσαι. ἅμα τε τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείχθη, καὶ ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐσελθὼν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Μνηστῆρα ἐθανάτωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν[1] ἐς τοὺς τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ κήπους, δι' οὕσπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπωλώλει, ἀναχωρήσασαν ἀπέσφαξεν.—Exc. Val. 225, Xiph. 143, 16–31 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 30, 20–31, 14 D.

5a Μεθ' ἣν [Μεσσαλῖναν] καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑβρίσαντά τινα τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει διέφθειρεν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 88 M. v. 34, 35.

6 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἀδελφιδῆν Ἀγριππῖναν ἔγημε, τὴν τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπονομασθέντος μητέρα· καὶ γὰρ καλὴ ἦν καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτῷ[2] προσεφοίτα, μόνη τε ὡς καὶ θείῳ συνεγίγνετο, καὶ τρυφερώτερον ἢ κατ' ἀδελφιδῆν[3] προσεφέρετο.—Xiph. 143, 31–144, 3 R. St.

7 Ὅτι ὁ Σιλανὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνομίζετο, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο ὥστε καὶ ἐπινικίους τιμὰς ἐν παισὶ λαβεῖν, τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ὀκταουίαν ἐγγυήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου στρατηγῆσαι,[4] τήν τε πανήγυριν τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκείνου τέλεσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ αἰτῆσαί τινα παρ' αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ τινὰ στασιάρχην, καὶ ἐκβοῆσαι πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους βουλομένους ἑώρα.—Exc. Val. 226 (p. 677).

[1] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν Zon., καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν Xiph., αὐτήν τε τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν cod. Peir.

taking place. And by frightening him with the idea A.D. 48
that Messalina was going to kill him and set up Silius as ruler in his stead, he persuaded him to arrest and torture a number of persons. While this was going on, the emperor himself hastened back to the city; and immediately upon his arrival he put to death Mnester together with many others, and then slew Messalina herself after she had retreated into the gardens of Asiaticus, which more than anything else were the cause of her ruin.

After her Claudius destroyed also his own slave A.D. 48–51
for insulting one of the prominent men.

After a little he married his niece Agrippina, the A.D. 49
mother of Domitius, who was surnamed Nero. For she was beautiful and was in the habit of consulting him constantly; and she was much in his company unattended, seeing that he was her uncle, and in fact she was rather more familiar in her conduct toward him than became a niece.

Silanus was regarded as an upright man and was honoured by Claudius to the extent of receiving the triumphal honours while still a boy, of being betrothed to the emperor's daughter Octavia, and of becoming praetor long before the customary age. He was, furthermore, allowed to give, at the expense of Claudius, the festival that fell to his lot, and during it the emperor asked some favours of him as if he were himself the mere head of one of the factions, and uttered any shouts that he saw other people wished him to utter.

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[2] αὐτῷ Xyl. (in vers.), αὐτῇ MSS
[3] κατ' ἀδελφιδῆν Baumgarten-Crusius, καὶ ἀδελφιδῇ MSS.
[4] στρατηγῆσαι Val., ἐστρατήγηκε cod. Peir.

8 Ὅτι οὕτω ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδούλωτο ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γαμβροὺς δι' αὐτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι.—Exc. Val. 227 (p. 677).

Ἐκείνης δ' οὕτω διαφθαρείσης τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν τὴν ἀδελφιδῆν ἔγημε σπουδῇ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, ὅτι τὸν Δομίτιον ἐς προσήβους ἤδη τελοῦντα εἶχεν υἱόν, ὅπως ἔφεδρον αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ[1] τρέφοντες μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ δεινὸν πάθωσιν, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν ἀναιρεθῆναι ποιήσαντες. δεδογμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ γάμου δείσαντες τὸν Σιλανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τιμώμενον ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης υἱῷ τῷ Δομιτίῳ προμνώμενοι, ἐνηγγυημένην τῷ Σιλανῷ, πείθουσι τὸν Κλαύδιον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντά οἱ τὸν Σιλανὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποιήσατο ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ γῆμαι τὸν Κλαύδιον· καὶ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ἐπιτηδείαν εἰς τοῦτο ἀπέφαινε, καὶ βιάσασθαί σφισιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον συνεβούλευεν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμηθέντες οἱ βουλευταὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἦλθον καὶ ἠνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν γῆμαι, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐποιήσαντο ἐξεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδελφιδᾶς ἄγεσθαι· πρότερον γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 31, 15–32, 4 D.

32 Ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐγένετο, τόν τε Κλαύδιον ἐσφετερίσατο, δεινοτάτη που οὖσα πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούς τινα αὐτοῦ εὔνοιαν ἔχοντας τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ εὐεργε-

[1] τῇ ἀρχῇ BC[c], ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ AE.

Claudius had become such a slave to his wives that on their account he killed both his sons-in-law. A.D.

When she[1] had thus been put out of the way, Claudius married Agrippina, his niece. The freedmen zealously aided in bringing about this marriage, since Agrippina had a son, Domitius, who was already nearing man's estate, and they wished to bring him up as Claudius' successor in the imperial office so that they might suffer no harm at the hands of Britannicus for having caused the death of his mother, Messalina. When, now, the marriage had been decided upon, they feared Silanus, who was honoured as an upright man by Claudius, and at the same time they wished to secure Octavia, the emperor's daughter, already betrothed to Silanus, as wife for Agrippina's son, Domitius. So they persuaded Claudius to put Silanus to death, claiming that he was plotting against him. When this had been accomplished, Vitellius made a speech in the senate, declaring that the good of the State required that Claudius should marry; and he kept indicating Agrippina as a suitable woman for this purpose and advised them to force him into this marriage. Thus prompted, the senators came to Claudius and made a show of compelling him to marry. They also passed a decree permitting Romans to wed their nieces, a union previously prohibited.

As soon as Agrippina had come to live in the palace she gained complete control over Claudius. Indeed, she was very clever in making the most of opportunities, and, partly by fear and partly by favours, she won the devotion of all those who were

[1] Messalina.

σίαις ᾠκειώσατο. καὶ τέλος[1] τὸν Βρεττανικὸν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τῶν τυχόντων τινὰ τρέφεσθαι ἐποίει· ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος, ὁ καὶ τὴν τοῦ
2 Σεϊανοῦ[2] θυγατέρα ἐγγυησάμενος, ἐτεθνήκει. τόν τε Δομίτιον τότε μὲν γαμβρὸν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀπέδειξεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐσεποίησεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μέν τι διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἀναπείσασα τὸν Κλαύδιον, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τούς τε στρατιώτας ἐπιτήδειόν τι ἀεί ποτε ἐς αὐτὰ συμβοᾶν[3] παρασκευάσασα.—Exc. Val. 228 (p. 677), Xiph. 144, 3–7 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 5–13 D.

3 Ὅτι ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τὸ κράτος ἐξήσκει καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σενέκᾳ ἐξεπαίδευε, πλοῦτόν τε ἀμύθητον αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν σμικροτάτων οὔτε τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐπ' ἀργυρισμῷ παραλείπουσα, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν καὶ τὸν ὁπωσοῦν εὐποροῦντα θεραπεύουσα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
4 τοῦτο φονεύουσα. ἤδη δέ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γυναικῶν ζηλοτυπήσασα ἔφθειρε, καὶ τήν γε Παυλῖναν τὴν Λολλίαν, ἐπειδὴ[4] τῷ Γαΐῳ συνῳκήκει καὶ[5] ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου συνοίκησιν ἐσχήκει,[6] ἀπέκτεινε. τήν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κομισθεῖσαν αὐτῇ μὴ γνωρίσασα τό τε στόμα αὐτῆς αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀνέῳξε καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπεσκέψατο ἰδίως πως ἔχοντας.—Exc. Val. 229, Xiph. 144, 7–16 R. St. (Zon.).

4a Ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς συμβαλὼν Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπογνούς τε ἑαυτοῦ[7] ἐδεήθη λόγον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι,

[1] τέλος Zon., om. cod. Peir.
[2] Σεϊανοῦ (Σηιανοῦ) Val., ἀσιανοῦ cod. Peir.

at all friendly toward him. At length she caused his son Britannicus to be brought up as if he were a mere nobody. (The other son, who had betrothed the daughter of Sejanus, was dead.) She made Domitius the son-in-law of Claudius at this time and later brought about his adoption also. She accomplished these ends partly by getting the freedmen to persuade Claudius and partly by arranging beforehand that the senate, the populace, and the soldiers should join together in shouting their approval of her demands on every occasion. A.D. 49

Agrippina was training her son for the throne and was entrusting his education to Seneca. She was amassing untold wealth for him, overlooking no possible source of revenue, not even the most humble or despised, but paying court to everyone who was in the least degree well-to-do and murdering many for this very reason. Indeed, she even destroyed some of the foremost women out of jealousy; thus she slew Lollia Paulina because she had been the wife of Gaius and had cherished some hope of becoming Claudius' wife. As she did not recognize the woman's head when it was brought to her, she opened the mouth with her own hand and inspected the teeth, which had certain peculiarities.

Mithridates, king of the Iberians, having been defeated in a conflict with a Roman army and despairing of his life, begged that a hearing should be granted him in order that he might not

[3] *συμβοᾶν* Val., *συμβοοῦν* cod. Peir.
[4] *ἐπειδὴ τῷ Γαΐῳ συνῳκήκει* cod. Peir., om. Xiph., *ἐπειδὴ ἐλπίδα τινά—ἐσχήκει* Xiph., om. cod. Peir.
[5] *καὶ* supplied by Bs. [6] *ἐσχήκει* Bk., *ἔσχηκεν* MSS.
[7] *ἑαυτοῦ* Bs., *ἑαυτῷ* MS.

ἵνα μήτε βιαίως ἀποθάνῃ μήτε ἐν ἐπινικίοις εἰσαχθῇ· οὕτως δὴ γενομένου ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ βήματος αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ ἀπειλητικῶς αὐτῷ διελέγετο· ὁ δὲ ἄλλα τέ τινα μετὰ παρρησίας ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ τοῦτο προσεπήγαγεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠνέχθην πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ ἀφῖγμαι· εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς, ἄφες με καὶ ζήτει."—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 41 (p. 208 Mai. = p. 191, 3–11 Dind.).

33, 2[1] Καὶ ἡ μὲν ταχὺ καὶ αὐτὴ Μεσσαλῖνα ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλας τε καὶ τὸ καρπέντῳ[1] ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν.—Xiph. 144, 16–18 R. St.

2[a] Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Αὔγουσταν τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεκάλεσε.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 22–23 D.

2[2] Ὁπότε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὸν Νέρωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐσεποιήσατό τε καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, τὴν θυγατέρα ἐς ἕτερόν τι γένος ἐκποιήσας ἵνα μὴ ἀδελφοὺς συνοικίζειν δοκῇ, τέρας οὐ μικρὸν ἐγένετο· καίεσθαι γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἔδοξεν.[2]—Xiph. 144, 19–22 R. St.

2[b] Ἀγριππῖνα δὲ καὶ Καλπουρνίαν[3] γυναῖκα τῶν πρώτων ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἢ ὡς λέγεται καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐπήνεσε.

2[c] Τοῦ δὲ Νέρωνος (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπ' αὐτῷ

[1] καρπέντῳ Xyl., καρπεντίῳ, MSS.

[2] Cf. Zon. (11, 10, p. 32, 23–29 D): καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς εἰσποιησάμενος μετωνόμασε Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα Δροῦσον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα, μηδὲν φροντίσας ὅτι καίεσθαι ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἔδοξε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν Ὀκτα-

be summarily executed or led in the triumphal A.D. 49
procession. When his request had been granted, Claudius received him in Rome, seated on a tribunal, and addressed threatening words to him. But the king answered him boldly, and ended by saying: "I was not brought to you; I came. If you doubt it, release me and try to find me."

She [Agrippina] quickly became a second Messalina, the more so as she obtained from the senate the right to use the carpentum[1] at festivals, as well as other honours.

After that Claudius gave Agrippina the title of A.D. 50
Augusta.

When Claudius had adopted her son Nero and had made him his son-in-law, after having first caused his daughter to be adopted into another family, in order to avoid the appearance of uniting in marriage brother and sister, a mighty portent occurred. The sky seemed to be on fire that day.[2]

Agrippina also banished Calpurnia, one of the most prominent women,—or even put her to death, according to one report,—because Claudius had admired and commended her beauty.

When Nero (to use the one of his names that has A.D. 51

[1] Cf. lx. 22.

[2] Cf. Zonaras: And adopting her son, he changed his name to Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus Caesar, paying no heed to the fact that the sky seemed to be on fire that day. Afterwards, having introduced his daughter Octavia into another family, in order to avoid the appearance of uniting in marriage brother and sister, he betrothed her to him.

βίαν εἰς ἕτερόν τι γένος εἰσαγαγών, ἵνα μὴ ἀδελφοὺς συνοικίζειν δοκῇ, ἐνηγγύησεν αὐτῷ.

[3] Καλπουρνίαν Hier. Wolf, καλπουρίναν ABCE.

ἐξενίκησεν) ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφέντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐνεγράφη τὸ δαιμόνιον τήν τε γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔσεισε καὶ φόβον νυκτὸς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνέβαλε.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 29–33, 7 D.

32, 5 Ὅτι ὁ μὲν Νέρων ηὔξετο,[1] Βρεττανικὸς δὲ οὔτε τινὰ τιμὴν οὔτε ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς περιέποντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον, ᾧ ἥ τε τροφὴ καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ προσετέτακτο, κατέσφαξεν ὡς καὶ τῷ
6 Νέρωνι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. κἀκ τούτου παραδοῦσα αὐτὸν οἷς ἤθελεν, ἐκάκου ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὔτε τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι οὔτε ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προϊέναι εἴα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπον τινὰ φυλακῇ εἶχεν.[2] —Exc. Val. 230 (p. 678), Zon. 11, 10, p. 33, 7–14 D.

6a Δίων ξα' βιβλίῳ "ἐπειδή τε οἱ ἔπαρχοι, ὅ τε Κρισπῖνος καὶ Λούσιος Γέτας, μὴ πάντα αὐτῇ ὑπεῖκον, ἐκείνους κατέλυσεν."—Bekk. *Anecd.* 178, 4.

33, 1 Ὅτι τῆς Ἀγριππίνης οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἥπτετο, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς βουλομένους ἠσπάζετο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσεγράφετο.—Exc. Val. 231 (p. 678).

3a Ἠδύνατο δὲ πάντα, τοῦ Κλαυδίου κρατοῦσα καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα οἰκειωσαμένη· ὁ γὰρ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ πολὺ προχωρήσας δυνάμεως ἐτελεύτησεν.

3b Οἱ ἀστρολόγοι δὲ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ἠλάθησαν, καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς συγγινόμενοι ἐκολάσθησαν.—Zon. 11, 10 (p. 33, 14–19 D.).

prevailed) assumed the *toga virilis*, the Divine Power shook the earth for a long time on the very day of the ceremony and by night struck terror to the hearts of all alike. A.D. 51

While Nero was being advanced, Britannicus received neither honour nor care. On the contrary, Agrippina removed or even put to death those who were devoted to him; Sosibius, who had been entrusted with his rearing and education, she slew on the pretext that he was plotting against Nero. After that she handed Britannicus over to those who suited her purpose and did him all the harm she could. She would allow him neither to be with his father nor to appear in public, but kept him in a kind of imprisonment, though without bonds.

Dio, Book LXI: "When the prefects Crispinus and Lusius Geta would not yield to her in everything, she removed them from office."

No one attempted in any way to check Agrippina; indeed, she had more power than Claudius himself and used to greet in public all who desired it, a fact that was entered in the records.

She possessed all power, since she dominated Claudius and had won over Narcissus and Pallas. (Callistus had died, after rising to a position of great influence.)

The astrologers were banished from all Italy and their associates were punished. A.D. 52

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[1] ὅτι—ηὔξετο cod. Peir., Νέρων μὲν οὖν ηὔξετο Zon.
[2] φυλακῇ εἶχεν supplied by Val.

3[c] Καράτακος δέ τις βαρβάρων ἀρχηγὸς ἁλοὺς καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀχθείς, καὶ συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τυχών, εἶτα περινοστήσας τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτῆς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, "εἶτα" ἔφη "ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι τῶν σκηνιδίων ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε;" [1]—Zon. 11, 10 (p. 33, 19–25 D.).

3 Ἔν τινι δὲ λίμνῃ ναυμαχίαν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεθύμησε ποιῆσαι, τεῖχός τε ξύλινον περὶ αὐτὴν κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἰκρία ἔπηξε, πλῆθός τε ἀναρίθμητον ἤθροισε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ὅ τε Νέρων στρατιωτικῶς ἐστάλησαν, ἥ τε Ἀγριππῖνα χλαμύδι διαχρύσῳ ἐκοσμήθη. οἱ δὲ δὴ ναυμαχήσοντες θανάτῳ τε [2] καταδεδικασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ἑκάτεροι εἶχον, οἱ μὲν
4 Ῥόδιοι οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ ὀνομασθέντες. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συστραφέντες καὶ καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι Κλαύδιον ἅμα προσηγόρευσαν οὕτω "χαῖρε, αὐτοκράτορ· οἱ ἀπολούμενοί σε ἀσπαζόμεθα·" ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν σωτήριον εὕροντο, ἀλλὰ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ ὣς ἐκελεύσθησαν, διέκπλοις τε ἁπλοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἥκιστα ἀλλήλων ἥψαντο, μέχρις οὗ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεκόπησαν.—Xiph. 144, 22–145, 2 R. St.

[1] Cf. Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 42, p. 208 sq. Mai. = p. 191, 12–19 Dind.: ὅτι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὁ ἄρχων Καρτάκης κατασχεθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνεπέμφθη· ὅντινα ἐπὶ βήματος ὁ Κλαύδιος χλαμύδα φορῶν εἰσήγαγεν· ὃς καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχε σὺν γαμετῇ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διάγων· καί ποτε περινοστήσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἰδὼν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν οἴκων "διὰ τί" ἔφη "τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα κεκτημένοι τῶν σκηνῶν ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε;"

Caratacus, a barbarian chieftain who was captured and brought to Rome and later pardoned by Claudius, wandered about the city after his liberation; and after beholding its splendour and its magnitude he exclaimed: "And can you, then, who have got such possessions and so many of them, covet our poor tents?"[1] A.D. 52

Claudius conceived the desire to exhibit a naval battle on a certain lake;[2] so, after building a wooden wall around it and erecting stands, he assembled an enormous multitude. Claudius and Nero were arrayed in military garb, while Agrippina wore a beautiful chlamys woven with threads of gold, and the rest of the spectators whatever pleased their fancy. Those who were to take part in the sea-fight were condemned criminals, and each side had fifty ships, one party being styled "Rhodians" and the other "Sicilians." First they assembled in a single body and all together addressed Claudius in this fashion: "Hail, Emperor! We who are about to die salute thee." And when this in no wise availed to save them and they were ordered to fight just the same, they simply sailed through their opponents' lines, injuring each other as little as possible. This continued until they were forced to destroy one another.

[1] Cf. Petrus Patricius: The ruler of the Britons, Cartaces, was captured and sent to Rome. He was tried by Claudius, who wore a chlamys and sat on a tribunal; but he obtained pardon and lived in Italy with his wife and children. On wandering about the city once and beholding its magnitude and the splendour of the houses, he exclaimed: "Why do you, who have got so many and so fine possessions, covet our tents?"

[2] The Fucine Lake, mentioned in the next paragraph.

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[2] τε Rk., δὲ δὴ MSS.

5 Ὅτι ὁ Νάρκισσος τῆς λίμνης τῆς Φουκίνης[1] συμπεσούσης αἰτίαν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μεγάλην ἔλαβεν· ἐπεστάτει γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ ἔδοξε πολὺ ἐλάττω ὧν εἰλήφει[2] δαπανήσας εἶτα ἐξεπίτηδες τὸ σύμπτωμα, ὅπως ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ κακούργημα αὐτοῦ γένηται, μηχανήσασθαι.—Exc. Val. 232 (p. 678).

6 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Νάρκισσος οὕτως ἐνετρύφα τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ὥστε λέγεται, ἐπειδή ποτε οἱ Βιθυνοί, δικάζοντος τοῦ Κλαυδίου, Ἰουνίου Κίλωνος τοῦ ἄρξαντός σφων πολλὰ κατεβόησαν ὡς οὐ μετρίως δωροδοκήσαντος, καὶ ἤρετο ἐκεῖνος τοὺς παρεστηκότας ὅ τι καὶ λέγουσιν (οὐ γὰρ συνίει διὰ τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν), εἶπέ τε ὁ Νάρκισσος ψευσάμενος ὅτι χάριν τῷ Ἰουνίῳ γιγνώσκουσι, πιστεῦσαί τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν "οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ διετὲς ἔτι ἐπιτροπεύσει."

7 Ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ χρηματίζοντι καὶ πρεσβείας ἀκροωμένῳ παρῆν, ἐπὶ βήματος ἰδίου καθημένη. καὶ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον θέαμα.—Xiph. 145, 2–11 R. St.

8 Ἰουλίῳ[3] δέ τινι Γαλλίκῳ[4] ῥήτορι δίκην ποτὲ λέγοντι ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐμβληθῆναι· ἔτυχε γὰρ πλησίον αὐτοῦ[5] δικάζων. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Ἄφρος, πλεῖστον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ συναγορεύειν τισὶν ἰσχύσας, κάλλιστα ἀπέσκωψε· δεηθέντος γάρ τινος ἀνθρώπου τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας,

[1] Φουκίνης Val., φουκιανῆς cod.
[2] εἰλήφει Bk. (?), ἤλπιζε cod.
[3] Ἰουλίῳ Zon., ἰουδαίω Xiph., om. exc. Vat.

When the Fucine Lake caved in, Narcissus was severely blamed for it. For he had been in charge of the undertaking, and it was thought that after spending a great deal less than he had received he had then purposely contrived the collapse, in order that his wrong-doing might not be detected. A.D. 52

Narcissus used to make sport openly of Claudius. Indeed, the report has it that on a certain occasion when Claudius was holding court and the Bithynians raised a great outcry against Junius Cilo, who had been their governor, claiming that he had taken enormous bribes, and the emperor, not understanding them by reason of the noise they made, asked the bystanders what they were saying, Narcissus, instead of telling him the truth, said that they were expressing their gratitude to Junius. And Claudius, believing him, said: "Well, then, he shall be procurator two years longer." A.D. 52–53

Agrippina often attended the emperor in public, when he was transacting ordinary business or when he was giving an audience to ambassadors, though she sat upon a separate tribunal. This, too, was one of the most remarkable sights of the time.

On one occasion, when a certain orator, Julius Gallicus, was pleading a case, Claudius became vexed and ordered him to be cast into the Tiber, near which he chanced to be holding court. This incident gave occasion for a very neat jest on the part of Domitius Afer, the most able advocate of his day. When a man who had been left in the

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[4] Γαλλίκῳ Leuncl., γαλίκω Xiph. Zon. (γαλλικανὸν exc. Vat.).
[5] αὐτοῦ L′, τοῦ αὐτοῦ VC.

ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαλλίκου ἐγκατελείφθη, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι "καὶ τίς σοι εἶπεν ὅτι κρεῖττον ἐκείνου νήχομαι;"—Xiph. 145, 11–17 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 33, 25–34, 3 D., Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 43 (p. 209 Mai. = p. 191, 20–24 Dind.).

9 Νοσήσαντος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλαυδίου εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Νέρων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ εἰ ἀναρρωσθείη ὁ Κλαύδιος ἱπποδρομίαν ὑπέσχετο. πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐκίνει ἵνα τῷ τε πλήθει χαρίζοιτο καὶ μόνος ἔσεσθαι νομίζοιτο τῆς αὐταρχίας διάδοχος. διὸ τόν τε ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα, ᾧ προσέκειντο μάλιστα, ἐποίησε τὸν Νέρωνα ὑποσχέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ὑγείᾳ,
10 ἣν καὶ πάνυ ἀπηύχετο· καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν ἄρτων θόρυβόν τινα γενέσθαι παρασκευάσασα ἀνέπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον τῷ τε δήμῳ ἐκ προγραφῆς δηλῶσαι καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπιστεῖλαι ὅτι, κἂν αὐτὸς ἀποθάνοι, ὁ Νέρων τὰ κοινὰ ἱκανὸς ἤδη ἐστὶ διοικεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πολύς τε ἐκ τούτου ἦν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἤγετο ἅπασι, τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν συχνοὶ μὲν οὐδ' εἰ ἔζη ἐγίνωσκον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ παραπλῆγα καὶ ἐπίληπτον, ταῦτα κηρυτ-
11 τούσης τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, ᾤοντο. ῥαΐσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ὁ Νέρων μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν δὲ τότε ἔγημεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀνὴρ ἤδη δοκεῖν.

12 Οὐδὲν δὲ ἀρκοῦν τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ἐδόκει· καίτοι ὅσα τε ἡ Λιβία ἔσχε κἀκείνῃ ἐδέδοτο καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα πλείω ἐψήφιστο. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἰσοκρατὴς τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἄντικρυς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἤθελε, καί ποτε

lurch by Gallicus came to Domitius for assistance, A.D. 52-53
he said to him: "And who told you that I am a better swimmer than he?"

Later, when Claudius fell sick, Nero entered the senate and promised a horse-race in case the emperor should recover. For Agrippina was leaving no stone unturned in order to make Nero popular with the masses and to cause him to be regarded as the only successor to the imperial power. Hence it was that she selected the equestrian contest, to which the Romans were especially devoted, for Nero to promise in the event of Claudius' recovery—which she earnestly prayed might not come to pass. Again, after instigating a riot over the sale of bread, she persuaded Claudius to make known to the populace by proclamation and to the senate by letter that, if he should die, Nero was already capable of administering the business of the State. In consequence of this he became a person of importance and his name was on everybody's lips, whereas in the case of Britannicus many did not know even whether he was living, and the rest regarded him as insane and an epileptic; for this was the report that Agrippina gave out. When, A.D. 53
now, Claudius recovered, Nero conducted the horse-race in a magnificent manner; and he married Octavia at this time—another circumstance that caused him to be regarded as having at length come to manhood.

Nothing seemed to satisfy Agrippina, though all A.D. 53-54
the privileges that Livia had enjoyed had been bestowed upon her also, and a number of additional honours had been voted. But, although she exercised the same power as Claudius, she desired to

πολλοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐπινεμομένου πυρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐκείνῳ συμπαρεγένετο.—Zon. 11, 11, p. 34, 4–28 D.

34 Ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης δρωμένοις, ὧν γε καὶ ᾐσθάνετο ἤδη, ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Βρεττανικὸν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῷ ἐπίτηδες ὑπ' ἐκείνης τὰ πολλὰ γιγνόμενον, Νέρωνι, οἷα τῷ ἑαυτῆς παιδὶ ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου[1] ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Δομιτίου, πάντα τρόπον περιποιουμένης τὸ κράτος, καὶ ὁπότε ἐντύχοι φιλοφρόνως συγγινόμενος,[2] οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην τε καταλῦσαι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσαγαγεῖν καὶ[3] διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς
2 ἀποδεῖξαι παρεσκευάζετο. μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐφοβήθη, καὶ αὐτὸν προκαταλαβεῖν φαρμάκῳ πρίν τι τοιοῦτον πραχθῆναι[4] ἐσπούδασεν.[5] ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ὑπό τε[6] τοῦ οἴνου, ὃν πολὺν ἀεί ποτε ἔπινε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης, ᾗ πάντες ἐπίπαν[7] πρὸς φυλακήν σφων οἱ αὐτοκράτορες χρῶνται, κακοῦσθαι ἠδύνατο, Λουκοῦστάν τινα φαρμακίδα περιβόητον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ νέον ἑαλωκυῖαν[8] μετεπέμψατο, καὶ φάρμακόν τι ἄφυκτον προκατασκευάσασα δι' αὐτῆς[9] ἔς τινα τῶν
3 καλουμένων μυκήτων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἤσθιεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἔχοντος (καὶ γὰρ μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος ἦν)

[1] προτέρου Leuncl., πρότερον MSS.
[2] ὁπότε—συγγινόμενος Zon., om. Xiph.; καὶ supplied by Bs.
[3] ἐς τοὺς—καὶ Zon., om. Xiph.
[4] πρίν—πραχθῆναι Zon., om. Xiph.
[5] ἐσπούδασε Zon., ἠθέλησε Xiph.
[6] τε Zon., Joann. Ant., om. Xiph.
[7] πάντες ἐπίπαν Zon., om. Xiph.

have his title outright; and once, when a great A.D. 53–54 conflagration was consuming the city, she accompanied him as he lent his assistance.

Claudius was angered by Agrippina's actions, of A.D. 54 which he was now becoming aware, and sought for his son Britannicus, who had purposely been kept out of his sight by her most of the time (for she was doing everything she could to secure the throne for Nero, inasmuch as he was her own son by her former husband Domitius); and he displayed his affection whenever he met the boy. He would not endure her behaviour, but was preparing to put an end to her power, to cause his son to assume the *toga virilis*, and to declare him heir to the throne. Agrippina, learning of this, became alarmed and made haste to forestall anything of the sort by poisoning Claudius. But since, owing to the great quantity of wine he was forever drinking and his general habits of life, such as all emperors as a rule adopt for their protection, he could not easily be harmed, she sent for a famous dealer in poisons, a woman named Lucusta, who had recently been convicted[1] on this very charge; and preparing with her aid a poison whose effect was sure, she put it in one of the vegetables called[2] mushrooms. Then she herself ate of the others, but made her husband eat of the one which contained the poison; for it was the

[1] *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 66, of Lucusta: nuper veneficii damnata.

[2] Dio probably says "called" here because the Greek word he uses for "mushrooms" has many other meanings, such as the snuff of a wick, a scab, a knob, etc.

[8] ἐπ'—ἑαλωκυῖαν Zon., om. Xiph.

[9] δι' αὐτῆς Zon., om. Xiph.

φαγεῖν ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ συμποσίου ὡς καὶ ὑπερκορὴς μέθης σφόδρα ὢν ἐξεκομίσθη, ὅπερ που καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγεγόνει, κατεργασθεὶς δὲ τῷ φαρμάκῳ[1] *διά τε τῆς νυκτὸς*[2] *οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἀκοῦσαι δυνηθεὶς μετήλλαξε, τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου, ζήσας ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ δέκα,*[3] *αὐταρχήσας δὲ ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι.*—Xiph. 145, 17–146, 5 R. St., Zon. 11, 11, p. 35, 1–25 D.

4 *Ταῦτα δὲ δὴ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ποιῆσαι ἠδυνήθη ὅτι τὸν Νάρκισσον ἐς Καμπανίαν, προφάσει ὡς καὶ τοῖς ὕδασι τοῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὴν ποδάγραν χρησόμενον, προαπέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἄν ποτε αὐτὸ ἐδεδράκει· τοιοῦτός τις φύλαξ τοῦ δεσπότου ἦν. ἐπαπώλετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, μέγιστον τῶν τότε*[4] *ἀνθρώπων δυνηθείς· μυριάδας τε γὰρ πλείους μυρίων εἶχε, καὶ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις καὶ*
5 *βασιλεῖς· καὶ δῆτα καὶ τότε ἀποσφαγήσεσθαι μέλλων λαμπρὸν ἔργον διεπράξατο· τὰ γὰρ γράμματα τοῦ Κλαυδίου, ὅσα ἀπόρρητα κατά τε τῆς Ἀγριππίνης καὶ κατὰ ἄλλων τινῶν, οἷα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διοικῶν, εἶχε, πάντα προκατέκαυσεν.*—Xiph. 146, 5–15 R. St.

6 *Ἐσφάγη δὲ παρὰ τῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης μνημείῳ, ὅπερ ἐκ συντυχίας συνενεχθὲν ἔδοξεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνης τιμωρίαν γενέσθαι.*—Zon. 11, 11, p. 36, 4–6 D.

35 *Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος μετήλλαξεν, ἐς τοῦτό τε*

[1] *κατεργασθεὶς—φαρμάκῳ* Zon., om. Xiph.

largest and finest of them. And so the victim of the plot was carried from the banquet apparently quite overcome by strong drink, a thing that had happened many times before; but during the night the poison took effect and he passed away, without having been able to say or hear a word. It was the thirteenth of October, and he had lived sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days, having been emperor thirteen years, eight months and twenty days. A.D. 54

Agrippina was able to do this deed owing to the fact that she had previously sent Narcissus off to Campania, feigning that he needed to take the waters there for his gout. For had he been present, she would never have accomplished it, so carefully did he guard his master. As it was, however, his death followed hard upon that of Claudius. He had wielded the greatest power of any man of his time, for he had possessed more than 400,000,000 sesterces, and cities and kings had paid court to him. Indeed, even at this time, when he was on the point of being slain, he managed to perform a brilliant deed. Being in charge of the correspondence of Claudius, he had in his possession letters containing secret information against Agrippina and others; all of these he burned before his death.

He was slain beside the tomb of Messalina, a circumstance due to mere chance, though it seemed to be in fulfilment of her vengeance.

In such a manner did Claudius meet his end. It

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[2] *διά . . . νυκτός* Zon., Joann. Ant., *τῆς δὲ νυκτός* Xiph.
[3] *καὶ μῆνας—τρεῖς καὶ δέκα* Joann. Ant., om. Xiph.
[4] *τότε* Leuncl., *πότε* MSS.

ὅ τε[1] ἀστὴρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὀφθείς, καὶ ἡ ψεκὰς ἡ αἱματώδης, ὅ τε σκηπτὸς ὁ ἐς τὰ δορυφορικὰ σημεῖα ἐμπεσών, καὶ ἡ αὐτόματος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νικαίου ἄνοιξις, τό τε σμῆνος τὸ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συστραφέν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν εἷς ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἐτελεύτησεν,
2 ἔδοξε σημῆναι. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων ὁ Αὔγουστος. Ἀγριππῖνα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέρων πενθεῖν προσεποιοῦντο ὃν ἀπεκτόνεσαν,[2] ἔς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγον ὃν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου φοράδην ἐξενηνόχεσαν. ὅθενπερ Λούκιος Ἰούνιος[3] Γαλλίων[4] ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστειότατόν τι
3 ἀπεφθέγξατο. συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας σύγγραμμα, ἀποκολοκύντωσιν[5] αὐτὸ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀθανάτισιν[6] ὀνομάσας· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ
4 πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομνημονεύεται. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ θανατουμένους ἀγκίστροις τισὶ μεγάλοις οἱ δήμιοι ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνεῖλκον κἀντεῦθεν[7] ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔσυρον, ἔφη τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγκίστρῳ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνενεχθῆναι. —Xiph. 146, 15–30 R. St.

Καὶ ὁ Νέρων δὲ οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης ἔπος κατέλιπε· τοὺς γὰρ μύκητας θεῶν βρῶμα ἔλεγεν εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦ μύκητος θεὸς ἐγεγόνει.[8]—Xiph. 146, 30–32 R. St.

[1] ὅ τε supplied by Rk.
[2] ἀπεκτόνεσαν St., ἀπεκτόνεισαν MSS.
[3] Ἰούνιος Fabr., ἰούλιος MSS.
[4] Γαλλίων R. Steph., λακίων MSS.
[5] ἀποκολοκύντωσιν L[1], corr., ἀποκολοκέντωσιν VC.
[6] ἀθανάτισιν VC, ἀπαθανάτισιν.
[7] κἀντεῦθεν Rk., κἀνταῦθα MSS.
[8] Cf. Petr. Patr. (*Exc. Vat.* 44, p. 209 Mai = p. 191, 25–29 Dind.): ὅτι ὁ Νέρων περὶ Κλαυδίου ἀστείως ἐφθέγξατο· ἔν τινι γὰρ

seemed as if this event had been indicated by the A.D. 54 comet, which was seen for a very long time, by the shower of blood, by the thunder-bolt that fell upon the standards of the Praetorians, by the opening of its own accord of the temple of Jupiter Victor, by the swarming of bees in the camp, and by the fact that one incumbent of each political office died. The emperor received the state burial and all the other honours that had been accorded to Augustus. Agrippina and Nero pretended to grieve for the man whom they had killed, and elevated to heaven him whom they had carried out on a litter from the banquet. On this point Lucius Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was the author of a very witty remark. Seneca himself had composed a work that he called "Pumpkinification"—a word formed on the analogy of "deification"; and his brother is credited with saying a great deal in one short sentence. Inasmuch as the public executioners were accustomed to drag the bodies of those executed in the prison to the Forum with large hooks, and from there hauled them to the river, he remarked that Claudius had been raised to heaven with a hook.

Nero, too, has left us a remark not unworthy of record. He declared mushrooms to be the food of the gods, since Claudius by means of the mushroom had become a god.[1]

[1] Cf. Petrus Patricius: Nero uttered a witty remark about Claudius. At a certain banquet mushrooms were brought in, and when some one remarked that mushrooms were the food of the gods, he replied: "True enough: my father was made a god as the result of eating a mushroom."

συσσιτίῳ εἰσκομισθέντων μυκήτων, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς οἱ μυκῆται θεῶν βρῶμά εἰσιν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη "ἀληθές· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ μου μυκήτην φαγὼν ἀπεθεώθη."

LXI 1, 1 Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου κατὰ μὲν τὸ δικαιότατον ἡ ἡγεμονία τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ ἦν (γνήσιος γὰρ τοῦ Κλαυδίου παῖς ἐπεφύκει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἤνθει), ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι διὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπέβαλλεν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ
2 δικαίωμα τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ δυνάμει προὔχων δικαιότερα [1] ἀεὶ καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δοκεῖ· Νέρων οὖν τάς τε διαθήκας τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἠφάνισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν διεδέξατο, τόν τε Βρεττανικὸν καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ διεχρήσατο· τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων παθήματα κατοδύραιτο;—Xiph. 147, 6–19 R. St.; cf. Zon. 11, 12, p. 37, 22–28 D., Suid. *s.v.* δικαίωμα.

2 Σημεῖα δ' αὐτῷ τῆς αὐταρχίας τάδε ἐγένετο. ἀκτῖνες γὰρ τικτόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς τοῦ ἡλίου φανερᾶς προσβολῆς περιέσχον· καί τις ἀστρολόγος ἔκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων φορᾶς τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίας δύο ἅμα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅτι τε βασιλεύσει καὶ ὅτι τὴν
2 μητέρα φονεύσει. ἀκούσασα δὲ ταῦθ' ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα παραυτίκα μὲν οὕτως ἐξεφρόνησεν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀναβοῆσαι, "ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω," ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πάνυ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχῇ ἔμελλεν. ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο μωρίας ἀφικνοῦνταί τινες ὥστε, ἄν τι προσδοκήσωσιν ἀγαθὸν κακῷ μεμιγμένον λήψεσθαι, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος καταφρονεῖν τοῦ χείρονος, ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ ἐκείνου ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, δυσκολαίνειν καὶ μὴ ἂν μηδὲ τὸ βέλτιστον

At the death of Claudius the rule in strict justice A.D. 54
belonged to Britannicus, who was a legitimate son of Claudius and in physical development was in advance of his years; yet by law the power fell also to Nero because of his adoption. But no claim is stronger than that of arms; for everyone who possesses superior force always appears to have the greater right on his side, whatever he says or does.[1] And thus Nero, having first destroyed the will of Claudius and having succeeded him as master of the whole empire, put Britannicus and his sisters out of the way. Why, then, should one lament the misfortunes of the other victims?

The following signs had occurred indicating that Nero should one day be sovereign. At his birth just before dawn rays not cast by any visible beam of the sun enveloped him. And a certain astrologer, from this fact and from the motion of the stars at that time and their relation to one another, prophesied two things at once concerning him—that he should rule and that he should murder his mother. Agrippina, on hearing this, became for the moment so bereft of sense as actually to cry out: "Let him kill me, only let him rule!" but later she was destined to repent bitterly of her prayer. For some people carry their folly to such a length that, if they expect to obtain some good thing mingled with evil, they are heedless for the moment of the drawback, in their eagerness for the advantage; but when the time for the evil comes, they are vexed and would prefer never to have secured even

[1] δικαιότερα Suid., δικαιότερος VC.

3 εἰληφέναι βεβουλῆσθαι. καίτοι καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ πατὴρ ἱκανῶς, οὐκ ἐκ μαντείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τρόπων τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, προείδετο, καὶ εἶπεν[1] ὅτι "ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ
4 ταύτης γεννηθῆναι." προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου λεβηρὶς περὶ τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ Νέρωνος παιδίου ἔτ' ὄντος εὑρεθεῖσα παρέδωκε τοῖς μάντεσι λέγειν ὅτι ἰσχὺν παρά του[2] γέροντος μεγάλην λήψεται, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γῆρας διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ ὄφεις ἐκδύεσθαι νομίζονται.

3 Ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἦγεν ὅτ' ἦρξεν, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἀναγνοὺς ὅσα ὁ Σενέκας ἐγεγράφει, ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδώκει. τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, πρὸς τοῦ Σενέκου καὶ αὐτὰ γραφέντα, ἀνέγνω ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἀργυρᾶν στήλην ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νέαις τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἀρχαῖς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ψηφισθῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτων ὡς καὶ κατὰ συγγραφήν τινα καλῶς ἀρχθησόμενοι παρεσκευ-
2 άζοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα πάντα αὐτῷ[3] τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διῴκει,[4] καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους ἅμα ἐποιοῦντο, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φορείῳ κατακείμενοι· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἡ μὲν ἐφέρετο, ὁ δὲ συμπαρείπετο. ταῖς τε πρεσ-

[1] καὶ εἶπεν R. Steph., καὶ εἶπέ τε VC, εἶπέ τε Bk.
[2] του Leuncl., τοῦ C, om. V.
[3] αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῇ V, αὐτὸ C.
[4] Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 37, 29–38, 3 D.): τοῦ Νέρωνος δὲ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Αὐγούστου ὑπό τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναγορευθέντος ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διῴκει τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι καπηλεύουσα πάντα.

the greatest good on such terms. Yet Domitius, the father of Nero, foresaw clearly enough his son's future depravity and licentiousness, and this not as the result of any oracle but by his knowledge of his own and Agrippina's character; for he declared: "It is impossible for any good man to be sprung from me and this woman." As time went on, the finding of a serpent's skin around Nero's neck while he was still a child caused the seers to declare that he should receive great power from an old man; for serpents are supposed to slough off their old age by discarding their old skin. A.D. 54

He was seventeen years of age when he began to rule. He first entered the camp,[1] and after reading to the soldiers the speech that Seneca had written for him he promised them all that Claudius had given them. Before the senate, too, he read a similar speech,—this one also written by Seneca,—with the result that it was voted that his address should be inscribed on a silver tablet and should be read every time the new consuls entered upon their office. The senators, accordingly, were getting ready to enjoy a good reign as much as if they had a written guarantee of it. At first Agrippina managed for him all the business of the empire;[2] and she and her son went forth together, often reclining in the same litter, though more commonly she would be carried and he would walk beside her. She also

[1] The camp of the Praetorians.

[2] Cf. Zonaras: When now Nero had been proclaimed emperor and Augustus by the senate and the army, Agrippina at first managed all the business of the empire in his name, making everything a matter of barter.

βείαις ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ ἐπιστολὰς καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπέστελλεν.[1]—Xiph. 147, 77–148, 18 R. St.

Ὅτι ὁ Πάλλας συνὼν τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ πάντα φορτικὸς καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ἦν.—Exc. U^G 37.

3 Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο, ἐδυσχέρανεν ὅ τε Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος, φρονιμώτατοί τε ἅμα καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἀνδρῶν ὄντες (ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔπαρχος τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἦν, ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ), καὶ ἔπαυσαν τὸ γινόμενον τοιᾶσδε ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι. πρεσβείας Ἀρμενίων ἐλθούσης καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἀφ' οὗ σφίσιν ὁ Νέρων διελέγετο, ἀναβῆναι
4 ἠθέλησεν. ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι πλησιάζουσαν ἔπεισαν τὸν νεανίσκον προκαταβῆναι καὶ προαπαντῆσαι τῇ μητρὶ ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιώσει τινί. πραχθέντος τε τούτου οὔτε τότε ἐπανῆλθον, ἐμβαλόντες τινὰ αἰτίαν, ὥστε μὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκφανῆναι,[2] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτῇ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπηται.

4 Κατεργασάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν παρέλαβον, καὶ διῴκησαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδυνήθησαν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως ἐπαινεθῆναι. ὅ τε γὰρ Νέρων οὔτ' ἄλλως φιλοπραγματίας ἦν καὶ ἔχαιρεν ἐν ῥᾳστώνῃ διάγων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῇ τε μητρὶ πρότερον ὑπεπεπτώκει,[3] καὶ τότε ἠγάπα ὅτι

[1] Cf. Joann. Ant. (fr. 90 M. v. 102–105): ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα (ἀγρίππα cod.) ἔς τε τὰ συνέδρια ἐφοίτα ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις—ἐπέστελλεν.

[2] ἐκφανῆναι U^G (ἐμφανῆναι and in marg. γρ. ἐκφανῆναι A), ἐκφῆναι VC.

received the various embassies and sent letters to peoples and governors and kings.[1] A.D. 54

Pallas in his association with Agrippina was altogether vulgar and objectionable.

When this had been going on for a considerable time, it aroused the displeasure of Seneca and Burrus, who were at once the most sensible and the most influential of the men at Nero's court (the former was his teacher and the latter was prefect of the Praetorian Guard), and they seized the following occasion to put a stop to it. An embassy of Armenians had arrived and Agrippina wished to mount the tribunal from which Nero was talking with them. The two men, seeing her approach, persuaded the young man to descend and meet his mother before she could get there, as if to extend some special greeting to her. Then, having brought this about, they did not re-ascend the tribunal, but made some excuse, so that the weakness in the empire should not become apparent to the foreigners; and thereafter they laboured to prevent any public business from being again committed to her hands.

When they had accomplished this, they took the rule entirely into their own hands and administered affairs in the very best and fairest manner they could, with the result that they won the approval of everybody alike. As for Nero, he was not fond of business in any case, and was glad to live in idleness; indeed, it was for this reason that he had previously yielded the upper hand to his mother, and was now quite content to be indulging in

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch: Agrippina used to attend the meetings of the senate, receive the embassies, etc.

[3] ὑπεπεπτώκει St., ὑπεπτώκει cod. Peir.

αὐτός τε ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἦν καὶ ἡ ἡγεμονία οὐδὲν
2 *ἧττον διήγετο· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ τὰ μὲν μετερρύθμισαν τῶν*[1] *καθεστηκότων, τὰ δὲ καὶ παντελῶς κατέλυσαν, ἄλλα τε καινὰ προσενομοθέτησαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Νέρωνα τρυφᾶν εἴων, ὅπως διακορής, ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς τῶν κοινῶν πάντων κακοῦ, ὧν ἐπεθύμει γενόμενος μεταβάληται, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι ψυχὴ νέα τε καὶ αὐθάδης ἔν τε τρυφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτῳ καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοτελεῖ τραφεῖσα οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κόρον αὐτῶν ἴσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ*
3 *αὐτῶν τούτων προσδιαφθείρεται. ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Νέρων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἁπλῶς πως δεῖπνά τε ἐποίει καὶ κώμους*[2] *ἐκώμαζε καὶ ἐμέθυε καὶ ἤρα, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τις ἐπέπληττεν οὔτε τὰ κοινὰ χεῖρον παρὰ τοῦτο διεχειρίζετο, ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτὰ ποιεῖ καὶ δύναται*
4 *καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν σφισι χρῆσθαι, κἀκ τούτου ταῦτά τε ὡς*[3] *ἕκαστα ἐκφανέστερον καὶ προπετέστερον πράττειν ἤρξατο, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἢ ἐκεῖνοι παραινοῦντες ἢ ἡ μήτηρ νουθετοῦσα αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, παρόντας μέν σφας ᾐδεῖτο καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο μεταθήσεσθαι, ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τἀναντία αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν,*
5 *ἅτε καὶ ἐπὶ πρανὲς ἕλκουσιν, ἐπείθετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν καταφρονήσας, οἷά που συνεχῶς παρὰ τῶν συνόντων ἀκούων "σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀνέχῃ; σὺ δὲ τούτους φοβῇ; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι Καῖσαρ εἶ καὶ σὺ ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ*

[1] *τῶν* Val., *τῶν δὲ* cod. Peir.
[2] *κώμους* cod. Peir., *περὶ κώμους* VC.
[3] *ὡς* Val., *αἷς* cod. Peir.

pleasures while the government was carried on as A.D. 54
well as before. His two advisers, then, after coming to a common understanding, made many changes in existing regulations, abolished some altogether, and enacted many new laws, meanwhile allowing Nero to indulge himself, in the expectation that when he had sated his desires without any great injury to the public interests at large, he would experience a change of heart; as though they did not realize that a young and self-willed spirit, when reared in unrebuked licence and absolute authority, so far from becoming sated by the indulgence of its passions, is ruined more and more by these very agencies. At all events, whereas at first Nero was comparatively moderate in the dinners he gave, in the revels he conducted, and in his drinking and his amours, yet later, as no one reproved him for this conduct and the public business was handled none the worse for it, he came to believe that such conduct was really not bad and that he could carry it even farther. Consequently he began to indulge in each of these pursuits in a more open and precipitate fashion. And in case his guardians ever said anything to him by way of advice or his mother by way of admonition, he would appear abashed while they were present, and would promise to reform; but as soon as they were gone, he would again become the slave of his desire and yield to those who were leading him in the other direction, since they were dragging him downhill. Next, he came to despise the good advice, since he was always hearing from his associates: "And do you submit to them?" "Do you fear them?" "Do you not know that you are Caesar, and that you have

ἐκεῖνοι σοῦ ἔχουσι;" τὰ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικῶν μήτε τῆς μητρὸς ὡς καὶ κρείττονος ἐλαττοῦσθαι μήτε τοῦ Σενέκου τοῦ τε Βούρρου ὡς καὶ φρονιμωτέρων
5 ἡττᾶσθαι, τέλος ἀπηρυθρίασε, καὶ πάντα τὰ παραγγέλματα αὐτῶν συγχέας καὶ καταπατήσας πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔτεινεν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ζηλῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο, νομίζων τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς[1] καὶ τοῦτ' ἰσχύος ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς κακίστοις μηδενὸς ὑστερίζειν.
2 ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδέα ἀκούων, οὐδ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ ἐχειρούργησεν αὐτά, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐδημοσίευσεν, ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰσχύνην παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων γένει προσθεῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
3 δεινὰ αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ βίαι καὶ ὕβρεις ἁρπαγαί τε καὶ φόνοι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεί τι παρ' αὐτῷ δυναμένων ἀμύθητοι ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ὃ δὴ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἕπεται, πολλὰ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, χρήματα ἀνηλίσκετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀδίκως ἐπορίζετο, πολλὰ δὲ βιαίως ἡρπάζετο.[2] ἦν μὲν
4 γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως[3] μικρόφρων· τεκμήριον δέ, Δορυφόρῳ τῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ βιβλία διέποντι πεντήκοντα ἅμα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας δοθῆναι κελεύσας, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐσώρευσεν αὐτὰς ἵνα ἀθρόον τὸ ἀργύριον ἰδὼν μεταβάληται, ἤρετο πόσον εἴη τὸ κείμε-

[1] αὐτοκρατορικῆς VC, αὐτοκράτορος cod. Peir.
[2] πολλὰ μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς—ἡρπάζετο Xiph., χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἀδίκως ἐπορίζετο, πολλὰ δὲ βιαίως ἡρπάζετο cod. Peir.

authority over them rather than they over you?" A.D. 54 and he was resolved not to acknowledge that his mother was superior to him or to submit to Seneca and Burrus as wiser. Finally he lost all shame, dashed to the ground and trampled underfoot all their precepts, and began to follow in the steps of Gaius. And when he had once conceived a desire to emulate him, he quite surpassed him; for he held it to be one of the obligations of the imperial power not to fall behind anybody else even in the basest deeds. And as he was applauded for this by the crowd and received many pleasant compliments from them, he devoted himself to this course unsparingly. At first he practised his vices at home and among his associates, but afterwards even indulged them publicly. Thus he brought great disgrace upon the whole Roman race and committed many outrages against the Romans themselves. Innumerable acts of violence and outrage, of robbery and murder, were committed by the emperor himself and by those who at one time or another had influence with him. And, as certainly and inevitably follows in all such cases, great sums of money naturally were spent, great sums unjustly procured, and great sums seized by force. For Nero never was niggardly, as the following incident will show. He once ordered 10,000,000 sesterces to be given at one time to Doryphorus, who was in charge of Petitions during his reign, and when Agrippina caused the money to be piled in a heap, hoping that when he should see it all together he would change his mind, he asked how much the mass before him

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[3] ἄλλως cod. Peir., ὅλως VC.

νον, καὶ μαθὼν ἐδιπλασίασεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν ὅτι
5 “ ἠγνόησα ὀλίγον οὕτω κεχαρισμένος.” πολλῷ δὲ δῆλον[1] καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δαπανωμένων ταχὺ μὲν[2] τοὺς ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θησαυροὺς ἐξήντλησε, ταχὺ δὲ πόρων καινῶν ἐδεήθη, καὶ τέλη τε οὐκ εἰθισμένα ἐξελέγετο καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι τῶν ἐχόντων τι ἐπολυπραγμονοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνας ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀπέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
6 προσαπώλλυντο. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλους, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν μέγα ἐκέκτηντο, ἀλλ' ἀρετήν γέ τινα ἢ καὶ γένος εἶχον, ὑποπτεύων ἄχθεσθαί οἱ καὶ ἐμίσει καὶ διέφθειρε.—Xiph. 148, 18–149, 30 R. St., Exc. U^G 37, p. 390 (p. 21, 13–22, 11), Exc. Val. 233, p. 678–682 (p. 21, 15–24, 16), Exc. Val. 234, p. 682 (p. 24, 17–25, 6).

6 Τοιοῦτος μὲν τὸ σύμπαν ὁ Νέρων ἐγένετο, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἱπποδρομίας τοσαύτῃ σπουδῇ ὁ Νέρων ἐκέχρητο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τοὺς παρηβηκότας στολῇ τε ἀγοραίῳ ὡς ἄνδρας τινὰς κοσμῆσαι καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὲρ σι-
2 τηρεσίου τιμῆσαι. ἐπαιρομένων δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ σπουδῇ, καὶ δεινῶς τούς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑβριζόντων, Αὖλος Φαβρίκιος στρατηγῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν μὴ βουληθεῖσιν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶν ἀγωνίσασθαι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, κύνας δὲ διδάξας ἕλκειν ἅρματα ἀντὶ ἵππων ἐσήγαγε.
3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τῇ λευκῇ τῇ τε πυρρᾷ σκευῇ χρώμενοι τὰ ἅρματα εὐθὺς καθῆκαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ πρασίων τῶν τε οὐενετίων[3] μηδ' ὣς ἐσελ-

amounted to, and upon being informed, doubled it, A.D. 54
saying: "I did not realize that I had given him so little." It can clearly be seen, then, that as a result of the magnitude of his expenditures he soon exhausted the funds in the imperial treasury, and soon found himself in need of new revenues. Hence unusual taxes were imposed, and the estates of those who possessed property were pried into; some of the owners lost their possessions by violence and others lost their lives as well. In like manner he hated and brought about the ruin of others who had no great wealth but possessed some special distinction or were of good family; for he suspected them of disliking him.

Such was Nero's general character. I shall now proceed to details. He had such enthusiasm for the horse-races that he actually decorated the famous race-horses that had passed their prime with the regular street costume for men and honoured them with gifts of money for their feed. Thereupon the horsebreeders and charioteers, encouraged by this enthusiasm on his part, proceeded to treat both the praetors and the consuls with great insolence; and Aulus Fabricius, when praetor, finding them unwilling to take part in the contests on reasonable terms, dispensed with their services, and training dogs to draw chariots, introduced them in place of horses. At this, the wearers of the White and of the Red immediately entered their chariots for the races; but as the Greens and the Blues would not participate

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[1] πολλῷ δὲ δῆλον VC (corrupt).
[2] ταχὺ μὲν cod. Peir. Zon., τοὺς μὲν V, . . . χό μὲν C.
[3] οὐενετίων R. Steph., οὐενετείων VC.

θόντων, ὁ Νέρων τὰ ἆθλα τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτὸς ἔθηκε, καὶ ἡ ἱπποδρομία ἐτελέσθη.—Xiph. 149, 30–150, 10 R. St.

4 *Ὅτι ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πράττειν ἐπεχείρει ὥστε Μᾶρκον Ἰούνιον Σιλανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψασα αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου ᾧ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδεδολοφονήκει.*—Exc. Val. 235 (p. 682).

5 *Ὅτι ἦρχε τῆς Ἀσίας Σιλανός, καὶ ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν*[1] *τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῦ γένους ἐνδεέστερος. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι,*[2] *ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος οὕτω ζῶντος προκριθείη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκαπήλευσε πάντα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν βραχυτάτων τῶν τε αἰσχίστων ἠργυρολόγει.*—Exc. Val. 236 (p. 682).

6 *Ὅτι Λαιλιανὸς ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἀρχὴν προσετέτακτο, καὶ ἦν οὐδὲν τοῦ Πωλίωνος βελτίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσῳ τῇ ἀξιώσει αὐτοῦ προεῖχε, τόσῳ καὶ ἀπληστότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἐπεφύκει.*—Exc. Val. 237 (p. 682).

7 *Ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα μηκέτι τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ διὰ τὴν Ἀκτὴν μάλιστα κυριεύουσα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Ἀκτὴ ἐπέπρατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀγαπηθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἔς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀττάλου γένος ἐσήχθη καὶ πολὺ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν γυναῖκα*[3] *αὐτοῦ ἠγα-*
2 *πήθη. ἡ οὖν Ἀγριππῖνα διά τε τἆλλα καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀγανακτοῦσα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν πληγαῖς ᾐκίζετο τοὺς δὲ ἐκποδὼν ἐποιεῖτο,*
3 *ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ὑπερήλγησε καὶ εἶπεν*

even then, Nero himself furnished the prizes for the horses and the horse-race took place. A.D. 54

Agrippina was ever ready to attempt the most daring undertakings; for example, she caused the death of Marcus Junius Silanus, sending him some of the poison with which she had treacherously murdered her husband.

Silanus was governor of Asia, and was in no respect inferior in character to the rest of his family. It was for this reason more than any other, she said, that she killed him, as she did not wish him to be preferred to Nero because of her son's manner of life. Moreover, she made traffic of everything and raised money from the most trivial and the basest sources.

Laelianus, who was sent to Armenia in place of Pollio, had formerly been in command of the night-watch. And he was no better than Pollio, for although surpassing him in rank, he was all the more insatiate of gain.

Agrippina was distressed because she was no longer mistress of affairs in the palace, chiefly because of Acte. This Acte had been bought as a slave in Asia, but winning the affections of Nero, was adopted into the family of Attalus and was loved by the emperor much more than was his wife Octavia. Agrippina, indignant at this and other things, first attempted to admonish him, and administered a beating to some of his associates and got rid of others. But when she found herself accomplishing nothing, she took it A.D. 55

[1] οὐδὲ ἓν Val., οὐδὲ ἐν cod. Peir.

[2] αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι Val. (ἐπικτεῖναι), αὐτὸν ἐπιχθῆναι cod. Peir.

[3] γυναῖκα C, om. V (but space left blank).

αὐτῷ ὅτι "ἐγώ σε αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέδειξα," ὥσπερ ἀφελέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν αὐτοῦ δυναμένη· οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι πᾶσα ἰσχὺς αὔταρχος, παρ' ἰδιώτου δοθεῖσά τῳ, τοῦ τε δόντος αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἀπαλλάττεται καὶ τῷ λαβόντι κατ' ἐκείνου προσγίνεται.—Xiph. 150, 11–22 R. St.

4 Τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν φαρμάκῳ δολοφονήσας ὁ Νέρων, ἐπειδὴ πελιδνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἐγενήθη, γύψῳ ἔχρισεν. ὑετὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοῦ διαγομένου πολύς, ὑγρᾶς ἔτι οὔσης τῆς γύψου, ἐπιπεσὼν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπέκλυσεν, ὥστε τὸ δεινὸν μὴ μόνον ἀκούεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι.[1] —Xiph. 150, 22–26 R. St.

5 Ὅτι τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὐκέθ'[2] ὁ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ἀκριβῆ τῶν κοινῶν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἠγάπων εἰ καὶ μετρίως πως διάγοντες αὐτὰ περισωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ Νέρων λαμπρῶς ἤδη πάντων ὧν ἤθελεν

[1] Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 38, 23-32 D.): Τῆς δ' Ἀγριππίνης, ὅτι μὴ ἀργυρολογεῖν ἠδύνατο φιλαργυρωτάτη οὖσα περιθύμως ὀργισθείσης, καὶ ἀπειλησαμένης τὸν Βρεττανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσειν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Νέρων ἀπέκτεινε φαρμάκῳ αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέψυξε καὶ φοράδην ὡς ἐπίληπτος ἐκκεκόμιστο· ἐν δέ γε τῇ ἐκφορᾷ ἐπεὶ πελιδνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου γέγονε, γύψῳ χρισθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἤγετο· κτέ.

Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 90 M. v. 87-93): τόν τε γὰρ Βρεττανικὸν ἀδελφόν οἱ εἶναι δοκοῦντα, πρῶτα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὥραν ἀσελγῶς ὕβρισεν ἔπειτα δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον δηλητηρίῳ φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρεν· ὡς δεινὸν μὴ μόνον ὁρᾶσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούεσθαι· πελιδνὸς γὰρ ὅλος ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεῳγμένοι καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους πρὸς τιμωρίαν καλοῦντες.

[2] οὐκέθ' Bk., οὔθ' cod. Peir.

greatly to heart and said to him, "It was I who made you emperor"—just as if she had the power to take away the sovereignty from him again. She did not realize that any absolute power given to anybody by a private citizen immediately ceases to be the property of the giver and becomes an additional weapon in the hands of the recipient for war against the giver. A.D. 55

Nero now treacherously murdered Britannicus by means of poison and then, as the skin became livid through the action of the poison, he smeared the body with gypsum. But as it was being carried through the Forum, a heavy rain that fell while the gypsum was still moist washed it all off, so that the crime was known not only by what people heard but also by what they saw.[1]

After the death of Britannicus, Seneca and Burrus no longer gave any careful attention to the public business, but were satisfied if they might manage it with moderation and still preserve their lives. Consequently Nero now openly and without fear of

[1] Cf. Zonaras: When Agrippina, who was most avaricious, became very angry because she could not levy money, and threatened to make Britannicus emperor, Nero took fright and put him to death by poison. Britannicus, accordingly, straightway breathed his last and was carried out on a stretcher as if he were in an epileptic fit; but at the funeral, in view of the fact that his body had become livid, it was smeared with gypsum and thus borne through the Forum, etc.

Joann. Antioch.: Britannicus, who was regarded as Nero's brother, was first shamelessly debauched by him and then killed by a powerful poison while at dinner, so that the crime was known by what people saw as well as by what they heard. For he became livid all over and his eyes were wide open, calling upon the rulers for vengeance.

6 ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐνεπίμπλατο. καὶ οὕτω γὰρ[1] ἐκφρονεῖν ἄντικρυς ἤρξατο ὥστε καὶ Ἀντώνιόν τινα ἱππέα αὐτίκα ὡς καὶ φαρμακέα κολάσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ φάρμακα δημοσίᾳ καταφλέξαι· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ διαθήκας τινὰς κακουργήσασί[2] τισιν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐσεμνύνετο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις γέλωτα ἰσχυρὸν παρέσχεν, ὅτι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα δι' ἑτέρων ἐκόλασεν.

8 Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει,[3] νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἐπικρυπτόμενός πῃ ἠσέλγαινεν, καὶ ἔς τε καπηλεῖα ἐσῄει, καὶ πανταχόσε ὡς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐπλανᾶτο. πληγαί τε ἐκ τούτων καὶ ὕβρεις συχναὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῶν θεάτρων τὸ δεινὸν προχωρῆσαι.
2 οἵ γάρ τοι περὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχοντες οὔτε τῶν στρατηγῶν[4] οὔτε τῶν ὑπάτων ἐφρόντιζον, ἀλλ' αὐτοί τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσεπεσπῶντο, οὐχ ὅτι κωλύοντός σφας τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὅσον[5] ἀπὸ βοῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεκταράσσοντος· καὶ γὰρ ἔχαιρε τοῖς δρωμένοις, ἔν τε φορείῳ τινὶ λάθρᾳ ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐσκομιζόμενος, κἀκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τοῖς ἄλλοις
3 ἐφορῶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀεί ποτε ταῖς τοῦ δήμου συνόδοις παρεῖναι εἰωθότας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐς αὐτάς, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ αὐτοὺς μόνα διὰ χειρὸς ποιεῖσθαι δέον, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἵν' ὅτι πλείστη τοῖς τι βουλομένοις

[1] Rk. rejected either καὶ or γάρ, but some words may have been omitted by the epitomist.
[2] κακουργήσασί Val., κακουργήσαντί cod. Peir.

punishment proceeded to gratify all his desires. A.D. 55
His behaviour began to be absolutely insensate, as was shown by his punishing immediately a certain knight, Antonius, as a dealer in poisons, and furthermore by his burning the poisons publicly. He took great credit to himself for this action as well as for prosecuting some persons who had tampered with wills; but people in general were vastly amused to see him punishing his own deeds in the persons of others.

He indulged in many licentious deeds both at home and throughout the city, by night and by day alike, though he made some attempt at concealment. He used to frequent the taverns and wandered about everywhere like a private citizen. In consequence, frequent blows and violence occurred, and the evil even spread to the theatres, so that the people connected with the stage and the horse-races paid no heed either to the praetors or to the consuls, but were both disorderly themselves and led others to act likewise. And Nero not only failed to restrain them, even by words, but actually incited them the more; for he delighted in their behaviour and used to be secretly conveyed in a litter into the theatre, where, unseen by the rest, he could watch what was going on. Indeed he forbade the soldiers who hitherto had always been present at all public gatherings to attend them any longer. The reason he assigned was that they ought not to perform any but military duties; but his real purpose was to afford those who

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[3] τῇ πόλει cod. Peir., τῇ ἄνω πόλει VC.

[4] στρατηγῶν Madvig, στρα^τ cod. Peir.

[5] ὅσον Reim., ὅσα cod. Peir.

4 *ταράσσειν ἐξουσία εἴη. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ σκήψει καὶ
πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐχρήσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνῃ
συνεῖναι στρατιώτην τινὰ ἐπέτρεπε, λέγων μηδένα
ἄλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος φρου-
ρεῖσθαι χρῆναι. καὶ τοῦτό γε καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολ-*
5 *λοὺς τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοῦ*[1] *ἐξέφηνεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ
ἄλλα ὅσα καθ' ἑκάστην ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν καὶ
ἔλεγον ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔπραττον, ἐξῄει μὲν ἐκ
τοῦ παλατίου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἐδημοσιεύετο,
ἀλλὰ κατείκαζον αὐτὰ καὶ ἐλογοποίουν ἄλλοι*[2]
*ἄλλως· πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν πονηρίαν τήν τε ἀσέλ-
γειάν σφων τά τε ἐνδεχόμενα γενέσθαι*[3] *ὡς
γεγονότα διεθροεῖτο καὶ τὰ πιθανότητά τινα*[4]
6 *λεχθῆναι ἔχοντα ὡς καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐπιστεύετο· τότε
δὲ πρῶτον ἰδόντες αὐτὴν ἄνευ δορυφόρων οἱ μὲν
πολλοὶ ἐφυλάττοντο μηδ' ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτῇ
συμμῖξαι, εἰ δέ πού τις καὶ συνέτυχε, διὰ ταχέων
ἄν, μηδὲν εἰπών, ἀπηλλάγη.*—Exc. Val. 238 (p.
682), Xiph. 150, 26–151, 8 R. St.

9 *Ἐν δέ τινι θέᾳ ἄνδρες ταύρους ἀπὸ ἵππων,
συμπαραθέοντές σφισι, κατέστρεφον, τετρακοσίας
τε ἄρκτους καὶ τριακοσίους λέοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ
σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Νέρωνος κατηκόντισαν, ὅτε
καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τέλους τριάκοντα ἐμονομά-
χησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ οὖν τῷ φανερῷ ταῦτ' ἐποίει,*
2 *κρύφα δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκώμαζε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν,
ὑβρίζων ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ἀσελγαίνων ἐς τὰ
μειράκια, ἀποδύων τε*[5] *τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, παίων
τιτρώσκων φονεύων. καὶ ἐδόκει μέν πως λαν-*

[1] *καὶ τοῦτό γε—αὐτοῦ* Bs., *καὶ τουτόγε—αὐτὸς* cod. Peir.
[2] *ἄλλοι* H. Steph., *ἄλλα* VC.
[3] *γενέσθαι* R. Steph., *γενεσιν* . . . CV.

wished to create a disturbance the fullest scope. A.D. 55
He also used the same excuse in the case of his mother; for he would not allow any soldier to attend her, declaring that no one except the emperor ought to be guarded by them. This revealed even to the masses his hatred of her. Nearly everything, to be sure, that he and his mother said to each other or that they did each day was reported outside the palace, yet it did not all reach the public, and hence various conjectures were made and various stories circulated. For, in view of the depravity and lewdness of the pair, everything that could conceivably happen was noised abroad as having actually taken place, and reports possessing any credibility were believed as true. But when the people now saw Agrippina unaccompanied for the first time by the Praetorians, most of them took care not to fall in with her even by accident; and if any one did chance to meet her, he would hastily get out of the way without saying a word.

At one spectacle men on horseback overcame bulls while riding along beside them, and the knights who served as Nero's bodyguard brought down with their javelins four hundred bears and three hundred lions. On the same occasion thirty members of the equestrian order fought as gladiators. Such were the proceedings which the emperor sanctioned openly; secretly, however, he carried on nocturnal revels throughout the entire city, insulting women, practising lewdness on boys, stripping the people whom he encountered, beating, wounding and murdering. He had an idea that his identity

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[4] πιθανότητά τινα C[2], πιθανωτατα τινα C[1], πιθανώτατα ἵνα V.
[5] τε Joann. Ant., om. VC cod. Peir.

θάνειν (καὶ γὰρ ἐσθῆσι ποικίλαις καὶ κόμαις περιθέτοις ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις ἐχρῆτο), ἠλέγχετο δὲ ἔκ τε τῆς ἀκουλουθίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀδεῶς οὕτως ποιῆσαι
3 *ἐτόλμησεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἴκοι μένειν ἀσφαλὲς οὐδενὶ ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς οἰκίας ἐσεπήδα. Ἰούλιος οὖν τις Μοντανὸς βουλευτής, ἀγανακτήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός, προσέπεσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς ἐνεφόρησεν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπωπίων συχναῖς αὐτὸν*
4 *ἡμέραις κρυφθῆναι. καὶ ἔπαθεν ἂν*[1] *ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεινὸν οὐδέν (ὁ γὰρ Νέρων ἐκ συντυχίας ἄλλως ὑβρίσθαι νομίσας οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐποιεῖτο), εἰ μὴ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην αἰτούμενος. ὡς γὰρ ἀναγνοὺς ὁ Νέρων τὰ γράμματα ἔφη "οὐκοῦν ᾔδει Νέρωνα τύπτων," αὐτὸν*[2] *κατεχρήσατο.*

5 *Ἐν δέ τινι θεάτρῳ θέας ἐπιτελῶν, εἶτα πληρώσας ἐξαίφνης τὸ θέατρον ὕδατος θαλασσίου ὥστε καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ κήτη*[3] *ἐν αὐτῷ νήχεσθαι, ναυμαχίαν τε ἐποίησε Περσῶν δή τινων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν τό τε ὕδωρ εὐθὺς ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ξηράνας τὸ δάπεδον πεζοὺς πάλιν οὐχ ὅπως ἕνα πρὸς ἕνα ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἅμα πρὸς ἴσους*
10 *συνέβαλεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ δικανικοὶ ἀγῶνες, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ καὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπέθανον.*

Ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐνεκλήθη[4] *ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ συνεγίγνετο· οὐ*

[1] *ἂν* Reisk., *οὖν* V, erasure in C, om. cod. Peir.
[2] *αὑτὸν* Xyl., *αὐτὸν* VC. [3] *κήτη* Sylb., *κτήνη* VC.
[4] *ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε καὶ ἐνεκλήθη* cod. Peir., *ἐνεκλήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ σεννέκας* VC.

was not known, for he used various costumes and A.D. 55
different wigs at different times; but he would be recognized both by his retinue and by his deeds, since no one else would have dared commit so many and so serious outrages in such a reckless manner. In- A.D 56
deed, it was becoming unsafe even for a person to remain at home, since Nero would break into shops and houses. Now a certain Julius Montanus, a senator, enraged on his wife's account, fell upon him and inflicted many blows upon him, so that he had to remain in concealment several days by reason of the black eyes he had received. And yet Montanus would have suffered no harm for this, since Nero thought the violence had been all an accident and so was not disposed to be angry at the occurrence, had not the other sent him a note begging his pardon. Nero on reading the letter remarked: "So he knew that he was striking Nero." Thereupon Montanus committed suicide.

In the course of producing a spectacle at one of A.D. 57
the theatres he suddenly filled the place with sea water so that fishes and sea monsters swam about in it, and he exhibited a naval battle between men representing Persians and Athenians. After this he immediately drew off the water, dried the ground, and once more exhibited contests between land forces, who fought not only in single combat but also in large groups equally matched. On a later A.D. 58
occasion some judicial contests were held, and even these brought exile or death to many.

Seneca now found himself under accusation, one of the charges against him being that he was intimate with Agrippina. It had not been enough for him,

γὰρ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ[1] τὴν Ἰουλίαν μοιχεῦσαι, οὐδὲ βελτίων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ τοιαύτῃ τε οὔσῃ καὶ τοιοῦτον υἱὸν
2 ἐχούσῃ ἐπλησίαζεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πάντα[2] τὰ ἐναντιώτατα οἷς ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἠλέγχθη. καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδος κατηγορῶν τυραννοδιδάσκαλος ἐγίνετο,[3] καὶ τῶν συνόντων τοῖς δυνάσταις κατατρέχων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου, τούς τε κολακεύοντάς τινα διαβάλλων αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐξελευθέρους ἐθώπευεν[4] ὥστε καὶ βιβλίον σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου πέμψαι ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν ἔχον, ὃ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀπήλειψε.
3 τοῖς τε πλουτοῦσιν[5] ἐγκαλῶν οὐσίαν ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιώμενος πεντακοσίους τρίποδας κιτρίνου[6] ξύλου ἐλεφαντόποδας ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους εἶχε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἱστία.[7] τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπὼν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἀκόλουθα αὐτῷ δεδήλωκα, τάς τε ἀσελγείας, ἃς πράττων γάμον τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἔγημε καὶ μειρακίοις ἐξώροις
4 ἔχαιρε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξε, καίπερ τοσαύτῃ πρόσθεν αὐστηρότητι τῶν τρόπων χρώμενος ὥστε καὶ αἰτήσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ

[1] αὐτῷ Val., αὐτηι cod. Peir.
[2] πάντα VC, καὶ πάντα cod. Peir.
[3] ἐγίνετο VC, ἐγένετο cod. Peir.
[4] ἐθώπευεν VC, ἐθώπευσεν cod. Peir.
[5] πλουτοῦσιν VC, πλουσίοις cod. Peir.
[6] κιτρίνου Ciacconi, κεδρίνου VC, κεδρίου cod. Peir.
[7] εἱστία cod. Peir., εἱστιᾶτο VC.

[1] See lx. 8, 5. Dio was disposed to take the worst view of Seneca's character. The charges here made seem like an echo

it seems, to commit adultery with Julia,[1] nor had he A.D. 58 become wiser as a result of his banishment, but he must establish improper relations with Agrippina, in spite of the kind of woman she was and the kind of son she had. Nor was this the only instance in which his conduct was seen to be diametrically opposed to the teachings of his philosophy. For while denouncing tyranny, he was making himself the teacher of a tyrant; while inveighing against the associates of the powerful, he did not hold aloof from the palace himself; and though he had nothing good to say of flatterers, he himself had constantly fawned upon Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius, to such an extent, in fact, as actually to send them from the island of his exile a book containing their praises—a book that he afterwards suppressed out of shame.[2] Though finding fault with the rich, he himself acquired a fortune of 300,000,000 sesterces; and though he censured the extravagances of others, he had five hundred tables of citrus wood with legs of ivory, all identically alike, and he served banquets on them. In stating thus much I have also made clear what naturally went with it—the licentiousness in which he indulged at the very time that he contracted a most brilliant marriage, and the delight that he took in boys past their prime, a practice which he also taught Nero to follow. And yet earlier he had been of such austere habits that he had asked his pupil to excuse him from kissing

of the attack of Publius Suilius, recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii, 42).

[2] The *Consolatio ad Polybium*, still extant, was written during his exile in Corsica. It contains altogether too much adulation of the emperor and of Polybius.

5 μήτε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μήτε συσσιτεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ τούτου μὲν καὶ πρόφασίν τινα ἔσχεν, ἵνα δὴ[1] καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ σχολῆς δύνηται, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δείπνων αὐτοῦ ἐμποδιζόμενος, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλήματος οὐκ ἔχω συννοῆσαι διότι ἐξέστη· ὃ γάρ τοι καὶ μόνον ἄν τις ὑποπτεύσειεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοιοῦτο στόμα φιλεῖν, ἐλέγχεται ἐκ τῶν
6 παιδικῶν αὐτοῦ ψεῦδος ὄν. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς μοιχείας ἐγκληθείς τινα τότε μὲν αὐτός τε[2] μηδὲ κατηγορηθεὶς ἀφείθη καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα τόν τε Βοῦρρον ἐξῃτήσατο, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ καλῶς[3] ἀπήλλαξεν.—Xiph. 151, 8–152, 15 R. St., Exc. Val. 239 p. 685 sq. (p. 29, 17–30, 8; p. 30, 17–32, 6).

[1] δὴ Rk., ἤδη cod. Peir.
[2] τε supplied by Bk.
[3] οὐ καλῶς Val., οὐκάλλως (ου by correction) cod. Peir.

him or eating at the same table with him. For the A.D. 58 latter request he had a fairly good excuse, namely, that he wished to carry on his philosophical studies at leisure without being interrupted by the young man's dinners. As for the kiss, however, I cannot conceive how he came to decline it; for the only explanation that one could think of, namely, his unwillingness to kiss that sort of lips, is shown to be false by the facts concerning his favourites. Because of this and because of his adultery some complaints were lodged against him; but at the time in question he not only got off himself without even being formally accused, but succeeded in begging off Pallas and Burrus besides. Later on however, he did not fare so well.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

LXI Ἦν δέ τις Μᾶρκος Σάλουιος Ὄθων, ὃς οὕτως
11, 2 ἔκ τε τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῆς κοινω-
νίας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τῷ Νέρωνι ᾠκείωτο ὥστε
καὶ εἰπών ποτε πρὸς αὐτόν "οὕτω με Καίσαρα
ἴδοις" οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο κακὸν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ
τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀντήκουσεν ὅτι "οὐδὲ ὕπατόν σε
ὄψομαι." τούτῳ τὴν Σαβῖναν, ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν
οὖσαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποσπάσας ἔδωκε, καὶ
3 αὐτῇ ἀμφότεροι ἅμα ἐχρῶντο. φοβηθεῖσα οὖν
ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα μὴ γήμηται τῷ Νέρωνι (δεινῶς γὰρ
ἤδη αὐτῆς ἐρᾶν ἤρξατο), ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐτόλ-
μησεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὂν[1] ἐς μυθολογίαν
ὅτι τὸν θεῖον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐς ἔρωτα αὑτῆς[2] ταῖς τε
γοητείαις ταῖς τε ἀκολασίαις καὶ τῶν βλεμμάτων
καὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ὑπηγάγετο, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ
4 τὸν Νέρωνα ὁμοίως καταδουλώσασθαι. ἀλλ᾽
ἐκεῖνο μὲν εἴτ᾽ ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο εἴτε πρὸς τὸν
τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπλάσθη οὐκ οἶδα· ἃ δὲ δὴ πρὸς
πάντων ὡμολόγηται λέγω, ὅτι ἑταίραν τινὰ τῇ
Ἀγριππίνῃ ὁμοίαν ὁ Νέρων δι᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ
μάλιστα ἠγάπησε, καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ προσπαί-
ζων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνδεικνύμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι καὶ
τῇ μητρὶ ὁμιλοίη.
12 Μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ἡ Σαβῖνα ἀνέπεισε τὸν

[1] ὂν supplied by H. Steph.
[2] αὑτῆς H. Steph., αὐτῆς VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

THERE was a certain Marcus Salvius Otho, who A.D. 58
had become so intimate with Nero through the similarity of their character and their companionship in crime that he was not even punished for saying to him one day, "As truly as you may expect to see me Caesar!" All that he got for it was the response: "I shall not see you even consul." It was to him that the emperor gave Sabina, a woman of patrician family, after separating her from her husband,[1] and they both enjoyed her together. Agrippina, therefore, fearing that Nero would marry the woman (for he was now beginning to entertain a mad passion for her), ventured upon a most unholy course. As if it were not notoriety enough for her that she had used her blandishments and immodest looks and kisses to seduce her uncle Claudius, she undertook to enslave even Nero in similar fashion. Whether this actually occurred, now, or whether it was invented to fit their character, I am not sure; but I state as a fact what is admitted by all, that Nero had a mistress resembling Agrippina of whom he was especially fond because of this very resemblance, and when he toyed with the girl herself or displayed her charms to others, he would say that he was wont to have intercourse with his mother.

Sabina on learning of this persuaded Nero to get A.D. 59

[1] Rufius (or Rufrius) Crispinus; see Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45; xv. 71; Suet. *Nero* 35.

Νέρωνα ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσάν οἱ αὐτὴν διολέσαι. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, ὡς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀξιοπίστοις ἀνδράσιν εἴρηται, παρώξυνεν, εἴτ' οὖν τὸ ἔγκλημα τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπηλυγάσασθαι βουληθείς, εἴτε καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἐς μιαιφονίαν ἀνόσιον προαγαγεῖν[1] ἐθελήσας, ἵν' ὡς τάχιστα καὶ πρὸς
2 θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπόληται. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὤκνουν τὸ ἔργον καὶ κρύφα διὰ φαρμάκων οὐκ εἶχον αὐτὴν ἀνελεῖν (πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνη ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), ναῦν ἰδόντες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διαλυομένην τε αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς καί τινα θηρία ἀφιεῖσαν, καὶ συνισταμένην αὖ πάλιν ὥστε καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, τοιαύτην ἑτέραν ταχέως
3 ἐναυπηγήσαντο.[2] ὡς δὲ ἥ τε ναῦς ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐτεθεράπευτο (πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἐκολάκευεν αὐτήν, ἵνα μή τι ὑποτοπήσασα φυλάξηται), ἐν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε ποιῆσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῇ[3] τὸ μίασμα, πόρρω δὲ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀπάρας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν μητέρα ἔπλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νεὼς λαμπρότατα κεκοσμημένης, ὡς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῇ ἐμβαλεῖν ἀεί ποτε τῇ νηὶ χρῆσθαι.

13 Ἐλθών τε ἐς Βαύλους δεῖπνά τε πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοφρόνως εἱστίασεν, ἀποῦσάν τε πάνυ ποθεῖν ἐπλάττετο καὶ παροῦσαν ὑπερησπάζετο, αἰτεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ μὴ
2 αἰτούσῃ πολλὰ ἐχαρίζετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα

[1] προαγαγεῖν Bk., προσαγαγεῖν VC.
[2] ἐναυπηγήσαντο Rk., ἐναυπηγήσατο VC.
[3] ἐκδημοσιευθῇ Rk., ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι VC.

rid of his mother, alleging that she was plotting against him. He was incited likewise by Seneca (or so many trustworthy men have stated), whether from a desire to hush the complaint against his own name, or from his willingness to lead Nero on to a career of unholy bloodguiltiness that should bring about most speedily his destruction by gods and men alike. But they shrank from doing the deed openly and, on the other hand, were unable to put her out of the way secretly by means of poison, since she took extreme precautions against any such possibility. One day they saw in the theatre a ship that automatically parted asunder, let out some beasts, and then came together again so as to be once more seaworthy; and they at once caused another to be built like it. By the time the ship was finished Agrippina had been quite won over by Nero's attentions, for he exhibited devotion to her in every way, to make sure that she should suspect nothing and be off her guard. He did not dare to do anything in Rome, however, for fear the crime should become generally known. Hence he went off to a distance, even to Campania, accompanied by his mother, making the voyage on this very ship, which was adorned in most brilliant fashion, in the hope of inspiring in her a desire to use the vessel constantly. A.D. 59

When they reached Bauli, he gave for several days most costly dinners, at which he entertained his mother with every show of friendliness. If she were absent he feigned to miss her sorely, and if she were present he was lavish of caresses. He bade her ask whatever she desired and bestowed many gifts without her asking. When matters had

ἦν,[1] οὕτω δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου περὶ μέσας νύκτας περιλαμβάνει τε αὐτήν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ στέρνον προσαγαγών, καὶ φιλήσας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, "μῆτέρ" τε εἰπών, "ἔρρωσό μοι καὶ ὑγίαινε· ἐν γὰρ σοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ διὰ σὲ βασιλεύω," παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἀνικήτῳ ἀπελευθέρῳ ὡς καὶ κομιοῦντι οἴκαδε ἐπὶ τοῦ
3 πλοίου οὗ κατεσκευάκει. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἤνεγκεν ἡ θάλασσα τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τραγῳδίαν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὑπέμεινε τὴν ψευδολογίαν τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ἀναδέξασθαι, διελύθη μὲν ἡ ναῦς καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέπεσεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διακορὴς μέθης οὖσα, τῶν τε ναυτῶν ταῖς κώπαις ἐπ' αὐτὴν χρωμένων ὥστε καὶ Ἀκερρωνίαν[2] Πῶλλαν
4 τὴν σύμπλουν αὐτῆς ἀποκτεῖναι, διεσώθη. καὶ ἐλθοῦσα οἴκαδε οὔτε προσεποιήσατο οὔτ' ἐξέφηνε τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψε κατὰ τάχος, καὶ τό τε συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῇ ὡς κατὰ τύχην συμπεπτωκὸς ἔλεγε, καὶ ὅτι σώζοιτο εὐηγγελίζετο[3] δῆθεν αὐτῷ. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Νέρων οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πεμφθέντα ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ[4] σφαγῇ ἥκοντα ἐκόλασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὸν Ἀνίκητον εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν
5 ἀπέστειλε· τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις οὐκ ἐπίστευσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς. ἰδοῦσα δέ σφας ἐκείνη ἔγνω τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκουσι, καὶ ἀναπηδήσασα ἐκ τῆς κοίτης τήν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο, καὶ τὴν

[1] ἐνταῦθα ἦν Rk., ἐνταῦθ' . . . V, ενταυθ . . . C.
[2] Ἀκερρωνίαν Ryckius, ἀκερωνίαν VC.
[3] εὐηγγελίζετο Bs., εὐηγγέλιζε H. Steph., εὐηγγελίκει VC.

reached this stage, he embraced her at the close of dinner about midnight, and straining her to his breast, kissed her eyes and hands, exclaiming: "Strength and good health to you,[1] mother. For you I live and because of you I rule." He then gave her in charge of Anicetus, a freedman, ostensibly to convey her home on the ship that he had prepared. But the sea would not endure the tragedy that was to be enacted on it, nor would it submit to be liable to the false charge of having committed the abominable deed; and so, though the ship parted asunder and Agrippina fell into the water, she did not perish. Notwithstanding that it was dark and that she was glutted with strong drink and that the sailors used their oars against her with such force that they killed Acerronia Polla, her companion on the trip, she nevertheless got safely to shore. When she reached home, she affected not to realize that it was a plot and kept it quiet, but speedily sent to her son a report of the occurrence, calling it an accident, and conveyed to him the good news (as she assumed it to be) that she was safe. Upon hearing this Nero could not restrain himself, but punished the messenger as if he had come to assassinate him and at once despatched Anicetus with the sailors against his mother; for he would not trust the Praetorians to slay her. When she saw them, she knew for what they had come, and leaping up from her bed she tore open her clothing, A.D. 59

[1] Both verbs used in the Greek were common formulas of leave-taking.

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[4] αὑτοῦ Dindorf, αὐτοῦ VC.

γαστέρα ἀπογυμνώσασα "παῖε," ἔφη, "ταύτην, Ἀνίκητε, παῖε, ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν."

14 Οὕτω μὲν ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἡ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἡ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἔγγονος, ἡ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπόγονος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ υἱέος, ᾧ τὸ κράτος ἐδεδώκει, δι' ὃν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἀπεκτόνει,
2 κατεσφάγη. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Νέρων ὅτι τέθνηκεν, οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τολμήματος ἀπιστία αὐτῷ ὑπεχύθη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτόπτης ἐπεθύμησε τοῦ πάθους γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτήν τε πᾶσαν εἶδε γυμνώσας καὶ τὰ τραύματα αὐτῆς ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τέλος πολὺ καὶ τοῦ φόνου ἀνοσιώτερον ἔπος ἐφθέγξατο· εἶπε γὰρ ὅτι
3 "οὐκ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτω καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον." καὶ τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἀργύριον ἔδωκεν, ἵνα δῆλον ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι εὔχωνται, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἄλλα τε ὅσα συνῄδει αὐτῇ καταριθμῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ
4 φωραθεῖσα ἑαυτὴν διεχρήσατο.[1] καὶ τῇ μὲν βουλῇ ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τε νυξὶν ἐξεταράττετο ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐξαπιναίως ἀναπηδᾶν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων δή τινων πολεμικόν τι καὶ θορυβῶδες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ τὰ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης ὀστᾶ ἔκειτο ἠχουσῶν ἐδειματοῦτο. διὸ καὶ ἄλλοσε ᾔει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ κἀνταῦθα τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἄλλοσε ἐμπλήκτως μεθίστατο.—Xiph. 152, 15–154, 27 R. St.

11, 1 Ὅτι ὁ Νέρων, οἷα ἀληθὲς μὲν μηδὲν παρὰ μηδενὸς ἀκούων, πάντας δὲ ἐπαινοῦντας τὰ πεπραγ-

[1] διεχρήσατο VC², κατεχρήσατο C¹.

exposing her abdomen, and cried out; "Strike here, Anicetus, strike here, for this bore Nero." A.D. 59

Thus was Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, grand-daughter of Agrippa, and descendant of Augustus, slain by the very son to whom she had given the sovereignty and for whose sake she had killed her uncle and others. Nero, when informed that she was dead, would not believe it, since the deed was so monstrous that he was overwhelmed by incredulity; he therefore desired to behold the victim of his crime with his own eyes. So he laid bare her body, looked her all over and inspected her wounds, finally uttering a remark far more abominable even than the murder. His words were: "I did not know I had so beautiful a mother." To the Praetorians he gave money, evidently to inspire in them the hope that many such crimes would be committed; and to the senate he sent a letter in which he enumerated the offences of which he knew she was guilty, and charged also that she had plotted against him and on being detected had committed suicide. Yet in spite of what he told the senate his own conscience was so disturbed at night that he would leap suddenly from his bed, and by day, when he merely heard the blare of trumpets sounding forth some stirring martial strain from the region where lay Agrippina's bones,[1] he would be terror-stricken. He therefore kept changing his residence; and when he had the same experience in the new place also, he would move in utter fright elsewhere.

Since Nero did not hear a word of truth from anybody and saw none but those who approved of his

[1] Near her villa at Bauli.

μένα ὁρῶν, λανθάνειν τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐδεδράκει ἢ καὶ ὀρθῶς αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι ἐνόμισε, κἀκ τούτου πολὺ χείρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐγένετο. πάντα τε γὰρ ὅσα ἐξῆν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, καὶ καλὰ ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς φόβῳ τι ἢ κολακείᾳ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὡς καὶ πάνυ ἀληθεύουσι προσεῖχεν. τέως μὲν γὰρ φόβοις καὶ θορύβοις συνείχετο· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ καὶ[1] *κεχαρισμένα αὐτῷ εἶπον, ἀνεθάρσησε*—Exc. Val. 240 (p. 686).

15 *Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἄνθρωποι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι, ἔχαιρον νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου γε πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες προσεποιοῦντο χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, καὶ συνήδοντο δῆθεν τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἐψηφίζοντο πολλὰ οἷς ᾤοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖ-*
2 *σθαι· ὁ Πούπλιος δὲ δὴ Θρασέας Παῖτος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπήκουσεν, ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ αὐτῆς ἐξανέστη τε εὐθὺς πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀποφήνασθαι καὶ ἐξῆλθε, διότι ἃ μὲν ἤθελεν*
3 *εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἃ δὲ ἐδύνατο*[2] *οὐκ ἤθελεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διῆγεν· ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι "εἰ μὲν ἐμὲ μόνον ὁ Νέρων φονεύσειν ἔμελλε, πολλὴν ἂν εἶχον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερκολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν*[3] *συγγνώμην· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἐπαινούντων πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀνάλωκε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσει, τί χρὴ μάτην ἀσχημονοῦντα δουλοπρεπῶς φθαρῆναι, ἐξὸν ἐλευ-*
4 *θερίως ἀποδοῦναι τῇ φύσει τὸ ὀφειλόμενον; ἐμοῦ*

[1] *καὶ* supplied by Bk.
[2] *ἐδύνατο* Bk., *ἠδύνατο* VC.
[3] *αὐτὸν* Sylb., *αὐτῷ* VC.

actions, he thought that his past deeds had not A.D. 59 been found out, or even, perhaps, that there was nothing wrong in them. Hence he became much worse in other respects also. He came to believe that anything that it was in his power to do was right, and gave heed to those whose words were inspired by fear or flattery, as if they were utterly sincere in what they said. So, although for a time he was subject to fears and disturbances, yet after the envoys had made to him a number of pleasing speeches he regained his courage.

The people of Rome, on hearing of these occurrences, rejoiced in spite of their disapproval of them, thinking that now at last his destruction was assured. As for the senators, all but Publius Thrasea Paetus pretended to rejoice at what had taken place and ostensibly shared in Nero's satisfaction therein, voting many measures by which they thought to win his favour. Thrasea, like the rest, attended the meeting of the senate and listened to the letter, but when the reading was ended, he at once rose from his seat and without a word left the chamber, inasmuch as he could not say what he would and would not say what he could. And indeed this was always his way of acting on other occasions. He used to say, for example: "If I were the only one that Nero was going to put to death, I could easily pardon the rest who load him with flatteries. But since even among those who praise him to excess there are many whom he has either already disposed of or will yet destroy, why should one degrade oneself to no purpose and then perish like a slave, when one may pay the debt to nature like a freeman? As for me, men will talk

μὲν γὰρ πέρι καὶ ἔπειτα λόγος τις ἔσται, τούτων δέ, πλὴν κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν, οὐδείς." *τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Θρασέας ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν "ἐμὲ* Νέρων *ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύναται, βλάψαι δὲ οὔ."*

16 Νέρωνα[1] *δὲ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον ἐσιόντα ἐς τὴν* Ῥώμην *δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἐθεράπευον, ἰδίᾳ δέ, ἐν ᾧ γε καὶ παρρησιάσασθαί τινες ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλα αὐτὸν ἐσπάραττον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ μολγόν τέ τινα ἀπ' ἀνδριάντος αὐτοῦ νύκτωρ ἀπεκρέμασαν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὅτι ἐς ἐκεῖνον*
2 *αὐτὸν δέοι ἐμβεβλῆσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ παιδίον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ῥίψαντες προσέδησαν αὐτῷ πινάκιον λέγον "οὐκ ἀναιροῦμαί σε, ἵνα μὴ τὴν μητέρα ἀποσφάξῃς."*—Xiph. 154, 27–155, 19 R. St.

2[a] *Ὅτι εἰσιόντος* Νέρωνος *εἰς τὴν* Ῥώμην *τοὺς τῆς* Ἀγριππίνης *ἀνδριάντας καθεῖλον·*[2] *μὴ φθάσαντες δὲ ἕνα ἀποτεμεῖν ῥάκος αὐτῷ ἐπέβαλον ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καί τις παραχρῆμα ἐπιγράψας προσέπηξε τῷ ἀνδριάντι "ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι καὶ σὺ οὐκ αἰδῇ."*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 50 (p. 210 sq. Mai. = p. 193, 13–18 Dind.).

2[2] Καὶ *ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν πολλαχόθι ὁμοίως γεγραμμένον*

"Νέρων Ὀρέστης Ἀλκμέων *μητροκτόνοι,*"[3]

ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκούειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο λεγόντων ὅτι Νέρων
3 *τὴν μητέρα ἀνεχρήσατο· συχνοὶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ λελαληκότας τινὰς αὐτὸ ἐσήγγελον, οὐχ οὕτως*

[1] *νέρωνα* C[2], *νέρων* VC[1].
[2] *καθεῖλον* Mai, *καθεῖλεν* cod.
[3] *μητροκτόνοι* VC Zon., *μητροκτόνος* exc. Vat.

of me hereafter, but of them never, except only to record the fact that they were put to death." Such was the man that Thrasea showed himself to be; and he was always saying to himself: "Nero can kill me, but he cannot harm me." A.D. 59

When Nero entered Rome after the murder of his mother, people paid him reverence in public, but in private, so long at least as any could speak their minds with safety, they tore his character to shreds. For one thing, they hung a leathern bag by night on one of his statues to signify that he himself ought to be thrown into one.[1] Again, they cast into the Forum a baby to which was fastened a tag bearing the words: "I will not rear you up, lest you slay your mother."

At Nero's entrance into Rome they pulled down the statues of Agrippina. But there was one that they did not cut loose soon enough, and so they threw over it a garment which gave it the appearance of being veiled. Thereupon somebody at once composed and affixed to the statue this inscription: "I am abashed and thou art unashamed."

In many places alike one could read the inscription:

"Orestes, Nero, Alcmeon, all matricides."

And people could even be heard saying in so many words that Nero had put his mother out of the way; for information that certain persons had talked to this effect was lodged by many men whose

[1] A reference to the well-known punishment prescribed for parricides. The criminal was sewn up in a leather bag together with a dog, a cock, a viper and an ape, and thrown into the water to drown.

ἵν' ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωσιν, ὡς ἵνα τὸν Νέρωνα διαβάλωσιν. ὅθεν οὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην δίκην προσήκατο, ἤτοι μὴ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖον δι' αὐτῆς τὴν φήμην ἐπαυξῆσαι, ἢ καὶ καταφρονῶν ἤδη
4 τῶν λεγομένων. ὁ μέντοι ἥλιος σύμπας ἐν μέσαις ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γενομέναις ἐξέλιπεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐκφανῆναι·[1] καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες οἱ τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἁρμάμαξαν ἄγοντες ἐς μὲν τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσῆλθον καὶ μέχρι τῆς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἕδρας ἀφίκοντο, γενόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν
5 καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προεχώρησαν. καὶ ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἄν τις ἐτεκμήρατο ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γεγονέναι, σκηπτός ποτε τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐσφερόμενόν οἱ κατέφλεξεν, ὥσπερ τις ἅρπυια τὰ σιτία αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος.—Xiph. 155, 19–156, 2 R. St.

17 Ὅτι καὶ τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τηθίδα, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὡς μητέρα τιμᾶν ἔλεγεν, ἐπαπέκτεινε φαρμάκῳ, οὐδ' ἀνέμεινεν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἵν' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἀποθάνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπεθύμησε καὶ
2 ἐκείνην ἀπολέσαι· καὶ ἔσπευσέ γε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῆς τὰ ἐν ταῖς Βαίαις καὶ ἐν τῇ[2] Ῥαβεννίδι[3] ὄντα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡβητήρια[4] εὐθὺς μεγαλοπρεπῆ κατεσκεύασεν, ἃ καὶ δεῦρο ἀνθεῖ.—Exc. Val. 241 (p. 686), Xiph. 156, 2–6 R. St.

Ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἑορτὴν μεγίστην δὴ καὶ πολυτελεστάτην ἐποίησεν, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἢ καὶ[5] ἓξ ἅμα θεάτροις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας πανηγυρίσαι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐλέφας ἀνήχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ

[1] ἐκφανῆναι Leuncl., ἐκφῆναι VC.
[2] καὶ ἐν τῇ cod. Peir., τῇ τε VC.

purpose was not so much to destroy the others as A.D. 59
to bring reproach on Nero. Hence he would admit no suit brought on such a charge, either because he did not wish that the rumour should thereby gain greater currency, or because he by this time felt contempt for anything people said. Nevertheless, in the midst of the sacrifices that were offered in Agrippina's honour in pursuance of a decree, the sun suffered a total eclipse and the stars could be seen. Also the elephants which drew the chariot of Augustus, when they had entered the Circus and proceeded as far as the senators' seats, stopped at that point and refused to go any farther. And there was another incident in which one might surely have recognized the hand of Heaven. I refer to the thunderbolt that descended upon Nero's dinner and consumed it all as it was being brought to him, like some harpy snatching away his food.

He also poisoned his aunt Domitia, whom he likewise claimed to revere like a mother. He would not even wait a few days for her to die a natural death of old age, but was eager to destroy her also. His haste to do this was inspired by her estates at Baiae and in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, on which he promptly erected magnificent gymnasia that are flourishing still.

In honour of his mother he celebrated a most magnificent and costly festival, the events taking place for several days in five or six theatres at once. It was on this occasion that an elephant was led up

[3] Ῥαβεννίδι cod. Peir., ῥαβενίδι θαλάσσῃ VC.
[4] ἡβητήρια cod. Peir., νικητήρια VC, ἐνηβητήρια Rk. (cf. Herod. 2, 133).
[5] ἢ καὶ V, καὶ C.

θεάτρου ἀψῖδα, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ σχοινίων κατέ-
3 *δραμεν ἀναβάτην φέρων. ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ*[1] *καὶ αἴσχιστον καὶ δεινότατον ἅμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες οὐχ ὅπως τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τό τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν ἐσῆλθον ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμότατοι, καὶ ηὔλησάν τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο τραγῳδίας τε καὶ κωμῳδίας ὑπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐκιθαρῴδησαν, ἵππους τε ἤλασαν καὶ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐμονομάχησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐθελονταὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντες.*
4 *καὶ εἶδον οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα, τοὺς Φουρίους τοὺς Ὁρατίους*[2] *τοὺς Φαβίους τοὺς Πορκίους τοὺς Οὐαλερίους, τἆλλα πάντα ὧν τὰ τρόπαια ὧν οἱ ναοὶ ἑωρῶντο, κάτω τε ἑστηκότας καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας ὧν ἔνια οὐδ' ὑπ' ἄλλων*
5 *γινόμενα ἐθεώρουν. καὶ ἐδακτυλοδείκτουν γε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπέλεγον Μακεδόνες μὲν "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Παύλου ἔκγονος," Ἕλληνες δὲ "οὗτος τοῦ Μομμίου,"*[3] *Σικελιῶται "ἴδετε τὸν Κλαύδιον," Ἠπειρῶται "ἴδετε τὸν Ἄππιον," Ἀσιανοὶ τὸν Λούκιον, Ἴβηρες τὸν Πούπλιον, Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀφρικανόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πάντας. τοιαῦτα γάρ που προτέλεια τῆς αὐτοῦ*[4] *ἀσχημοσύνης ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν.*

18 *Ὠλοφύροντο δὲ πάντες οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀναλισκομένων. πάντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἃ ἄνθρωποι ἐσθίουσι, πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα, ἵππους ἀνδράποδα*

[1] *δὲ δὴ* Reim., *δὴ* V, *δεῖξαι* C.
[2] *τοὺς Ὁρατίους* Antioch., om. VC.
[3] *Μομμίου* Reim., *μεμμίου* VC.

to the highest gallery of the theatre and walked A.D. 59
down from that point on ropes, carrying a rider. There was another exhibition that was at once most disgraceful and most shocking, when men and women not only of the equestrian but even of the senatorial order appeared as performers in the orchestra, in the Circus, and in the hunting-theatre, like those who are held in lowest esteem. Some of them played the flute and danced in pantomimes or acted in tragedies and comedies or sang to the lyre; they drove horses, killed wild beasts and fought as gladiators, some willingly and some sore against their will. So the men of that day beheld the great families—the Furii, the Horatii, the Fabii, the Porcii, the Valerii, and all the rest whose trophies and whose temples were to be seen—standing down there below them and doing things some of which they formerly would not even watch when performed by others. So they would point them out to one another and make their comments, Macedonians saying: "There is the descendant of Paulus"; Greeks, "There is Mummius' descendant"; Sicilians, "Look at Claudius"; Epirots, "Look at Appius"; Asiatics naming Lucius, Iberians Publius, Carthaginians Africanus, and Romans naming them all. For such, apparently, were the introductory rites by which Nero desired to usher in his own career of disgrace.

All who had any sense lamented likewise the huge outlays of money. For all the costliest viands that men eat and everything else of the highest value—horses, slaves, teams, gold, silver, and raiment

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[4] αὐτοῦ H. Steph., αὑτοῦ VC.

ζεύγη χρυσίον ἀργύριον ἐσθῆτα ποικίλην, ἐδίδου
2 *διὰ συμβόλων· σφαιρία γὰρ μικρά, γεγραμμένα ὡς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχοντα, ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐρρίπτει, καὶ ἐδίδοτο ὅ τι τις δι' ἐκείνων ἥρπασεν. ἐνενόουν γὰρ ὅτι, ὁπότε τοσαῦτα ἀνήλισκεν ἵνα ἀσχημονήσῃ, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἀφέξεται ἵνα τι κερδάνῃ. τεράτων δέ τινων γεγονότων τότε οἱ μάντεις ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ ταῦτα φέρειν εἶπον, καὶ συνεβούλευσαν ἐς ἑτέρους τὸ δεινὸν ἀποτρέψα-*
3 *σθαι. κἂν συχνοὺς εὐθὺς κατεχρήσατο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Σενέκας ἔφη αὐτῷ ὅτι "ὅσους ἂν ἀποσφάξῃς, οὐ δύνασαι τὸν διάδοχόν σου ἀποκτεῖναι."*—Xiph. 156, 6–157, 5 R. St.

Τότε μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα σωτήρια, ὡς δὴ ἔλεγεν, ἑώρτασε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ὄψων, τὸ μάκελλον
19 *ὠνομασμένον, καθιέρωσε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἕτερον αὖ εἶδος ἑορτῆς ἤγαγεν, ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Ἰουουενάλια*[1] *ὥσπερ τινὰ νεανισκεύματα, καὶ ἐτελέσθη ἐπὶ τῷ γενείῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τότε πρῶτον ἐξύρατο, καὶ τάς γε τρίχας ἐς σφαιρίον τι χρυσοῦν ἐμβαλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ· καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ*
2 *εὐγενέστατοι πάντως τι ἐπεδείξαντο. τεκμήριον δέ, Αἰλία Κατέλλα τοῦτο μὲν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προήκουσα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ προφέρουσα (ὀγδοηκοντοῦτις γὰρ ἦν) ὠρχήσατο, οἵ τε λοιποὶ οἱ διὰ γῆρας ἢ νόσον ἰδίᾳ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι δυνάμενοι ἐχορῴδησαν. ᾔσκουν μὲν γὰρ πάντες ὅ τι τις*

[1] Ἰουουενάλια Bk., ἰουβενάλια VC.

of divers hues—was given away by means of tokens, A.D. 59 as follows. Nero would throw among the crowd tiny balls, each one appropriately inscribed, and the articles called for by the balls would be presented to those who had seized them. Sensible people, I say, were grieved, reflecting that when he was spending so much in order that he might disgrace himself, he would not be likely to abstain from any of the most terrible crimes, in order that he might gain money. When some portents took place at this time, the seers declared that they meant destruction for him and they advised him to divert the evil upon others. He would accordingly have put numerous persons out of the way immediately, had not Seneca said to him: "No matter how many you may slay, you cannot kill your successor."

It was at this time that he celebrated so many sacrifices for his preservation, as he expressed it, and dedicated the provision market called the Macellum. Later he instituted a new kind of festival called Juvenalia, or Games of Youth. It was celebrated in honour of his beard, which he now shaved for the first time; the hairs he placed in a small golden globe and offered to Jupiter Capitolinus. For this festival members of the noblest families as well as all others were bound to give exhibitions of some sort. For example, Aelia Catella, a woman not only prominent by reason of her family and her wealth but also advanced in years (she was an octogenarian), danced in a pantomime. Others, who on account of old age or illness could not do anything by themselves, sang in choruses. All devoted themselves to practising any

καὶ ὁπωσοῦν οἷός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐς διδασκαλεῖα ἀποδεδειγμένα συνεφοίτων οἱ ἐλλογιμώτατοι, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, κόραι, μειράκια, γραῖαι, γέ-
3 *ροντες· εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἐδύνατο ἐν ἑτέρῳ τῳ θέαν παρασχεῖν, ἐς τοὺς χοροὺς κατεχωρίζετο. καὶ ἐπειδή γέ τινες αὐτῶν προσωπεῖα ὑπ᾽ αἰσχύνης, ἵνα μὴ γνωρίζωνται, περιέθεντο, περιεῖλεν αὐτὰ τοῦ δήμου δῆθεν ἀξιώσαντος, καὶ ἐπέδειξε καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀρχθεῖσιν*
4 *ἀνθρώποις. καὶ τότε δὴ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοὺς τεθνηκότας ἐμακάριζον· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐτελεύτησαν, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ τῷ* Νέρωνι *ἐπιβουλεύειν αἰτιαθέντας οἱ στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἐλιθοβόλησαν.*

20 Καὶ *ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα ἄξιον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπενεχθῆναι, παρῆλθέ τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ* Νέρων *ἐς τὸ θέατρον, ὀνομαστὶ πρὸς τοῦ* Γαλλίωνος *ἐσκηρυχθείς, καὶ ἔστη τε ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ* Καῖσαρ *τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν σκευὴν ἐνδεδυκώς, καὶ "κύριοί μου, εὐμενῶς μου ἀκούσατε"*
2 *εἶπεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκιθαρῴδησέ τε* Ἄττιν *τινὰ ἢ* Βάκχας *ὁ* Αὔγουστος, *πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν παρεστηκότων, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ δήμου, ὅσον αἱ ἕδραι ἐχώρησαν, καθημένου, καίτοι καὶ βραχὺ καὶ μέλαν, ὥς γε παραδέδοται, φώνημα ἔχων, ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα ἅμα καὶ δάκρυα πᾶσι κινῆσαι.*
3 *καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ* Βοῦρρος *καὶ ὁ* Σενέκας, *καθάπερ τινὲς διδάσκαλοι, ὑποβάλλοντές τι παρειστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τάς τε χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, ὁπότε φθέγξαιτό*[1] *τι, ἀνέσειον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους*

[1] *φθέγξαιτό* Reim., *φθέγξοιτό* VC.

talent that they possessed as best they could, and A.D. 59
all the most distinguished people, men and women, girls and lads, old women and old men, attended schools designated for the purpose. And in case anyone was unable to furnish entertainment in any other fashion, he would be assigned to the choruses. And when some of them out of shame put on masks, to avoid being recognized, Nero caused the masks to be taken off, pretending that this was demanded by the populace, and exhibited the performers to a rabble whose magistrates they had been but a short time before. Now, more than ever, not only these performers but the rest as well regarded the dead as fortunate. For many of the foremost men had perished in the course of that year; some of them, in fact, charged with conspiring against Nero, had been surrounded by the soldiers and stoned to death.

As a fitting climax to these performances, Nero himself made his appearance in the theatre, being announced under his own name by Gallio. So there stood this Caesar on the stage wearing the garb of a lyre-player. This emperor uttered the words: "My lords, of your kindness give me ear," and this Augustus sang to the lyre some piece called "Attis" or "The Bacchantes,"[1] while many soldiers stood by and all the people that the seats would hold sat watching. Yet he had, according to report, but a slight and indistinct voice, so that he moved his whole audience to laughter and tears at once. Beside him stood Burrus and Seneca, like teachers, prompting him; and they would wave their arms and togas at every utterance of his and lead others

[1] These are actual titles of poems by Nero.

προσεπεσπῶντο. ἦν μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῷ
σύστημα ἐς πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας παρε-
4 *σκευασμένον, Αὐγούστειοί τε ὠνομάζοντο καὶ*
ἐξῆρχον τῶν ἐπαίνων· ἠναγκάζοντο δέ σφισι καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ ἄκοντες, πλὴν τοῦ Θρασέα,
ἐκβοᾶν. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε αὐτῷ συγκαθῆ-
κεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς,
σπουδῇ καὶ ὀδυρόμενοι συνελέγοντο, καὶ πάνθ᾽
ὅσαπερ οἱ Αὐγούστειοι, ὡς καὶ χαίροντες, συνε-
5 *βόων· καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν πως αὐτῶν λεγόντων "ὁ*
καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὔγουστος, εἷς ὡς
Πύθιος. μά σε, Καῖσαρ, οὐδείς σε νικᾷ." ποιή-
σας δὲ ταῦτα ἐδείπνισε τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πλοίων
ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναυμαχία ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
ἐγεγόνει· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς μεσούσης ἐς τὸν
Τίβεριν διὰ τάφρου κατέπλευσε.—Xiph. 157,
5–158, 16 R. St., Exc. Val. 242.

21 *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ γένειον ψιλισθῆναι*[1]
ἔπραξεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ δὴ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς τε δια-
μονῆς τοῦ κράτους αὐτοῦ (οὕτω γάρ που προέγρα-
ψεν) ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν κατεστήσατο, Νε-
ρώνεια αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ
γυμνάσιον ᾠκοδόμησεν, ἔλαιόν τε ἐν τῇ καθιερώσει
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι
2 *προῖκα ἔνειμε. τὸν μέντοι στέφανον τὸν τῶν*
κιθαρῳδῶν ἀνικεὶ ἔλαβε, πάντων ὡς καὶ ἀναξίων
τῆς νίκης ἐκβληθέντων,[2] *καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ*
γυμνάσιον ἐν τῇ στολῇ σφων ἐσεγράφη. κἀκ
τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ στέφανοι οἱ τῆς κιθα-
ρῳδίας ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἀγώνων ὡς καὶ μόνῳ
ἀξιονίκῳ ἐπέμποντο.—Xiph. 158, 16–24 R. St.,
Exc. Val. 243 (p. 689).

to do the same. Indeed, Nero had got ready a A.D. 59
special corps of about five thousand soldiers, called Augustans; these would lead the applause, and all the rest, however loath, were obliged to shout with them. Thrasea was the single exception, since he would never help Nero in these matters; but all the rest, and especially the prominent men, assembled with alacrity, grieved though they were, and joined in all the shouts of the Augustans, as if they were delighted. And one might have heard them exclaiming: "Glorious Caesar! Our Apollo, our Augustus, another Pythian! By thyself we swear, O Caesar, none surpasses thee." After this performance he entertained the people at a feast on boats on the site of the naval battle given by Augustus; thence at midnight he sailed through a canal into the Tiber.

These things, then, he did to celebrate the shaving A.D. 60
of his beard; and in behalf of his preservation and the continuance of his power, as his proclamation put it, he instituted some quadrennial games, which he called Neronia. In honour of this event he also erected the gymnasium,[1] and at its dedication made a free distribution of olive oil to the senators and knights. The crown for lyre-playing he took without a contest; for all others were debarred, on the assumption that they were unworthy of being victors. And immediately, wearing the garb of this guild, he entered the gymnasium itself to be enrolled as victor. Thereafter all other crowns awarded as prizes for lyre-playing in all the contests were sent to him as the only artist worthy of victory.

[1] Gymnasium here means a school of music.

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[1] ψιλισθῆναι Reim., ψιληθῆναι VC.
[2] ἐκβληθέντων cod. Peir., ἐκκληθέντων VC.

LXII 1 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπαίζετο, πάθος ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δεινὸν συνηνέχθη· δύο τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπορθήθησαν, καὶ μυριάδες ὀκτὼ τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν, ἥ τε νῆσος ἠλλοτριώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείστην αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην συμβῆναι, ὥς που καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς
2 προεσήμανεν· ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος, οἰκίαι τέ τινες[1] ἐν τῷ Ταμέσᾳ ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι[2] ἑωρῶντο, καὶ ὁ ὠκεανὸς ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη.

2 Πρόφασις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἡ δήμευσις τῶν χρημάτων ἃ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐδεδώκει· καὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥς γε Δεκιανὸς Κάτος ὁ τῆς νήσου ἐπιτροπεύων ἔλεγεν, ἀναπόμπιμα γενέσθαι. διά τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν[3] ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τόκων δανείσας ἔπειτ' ἀθρόας τε ἅμα αὐτὰς καὶ βιαίως ἐσέπρασσεν, ἐπα-
2 νέστησαν.[4] ἡ δὲ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσασα καὶ ἐναντία Ῥωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἀναπείσασα, τῆς τε προστατείας αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖσα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου

[1] *τινες* C (?), *τινος* V.
[2] *ὕφυδροι* Blancus (in transl.), *ἔφυδροι* VC.
[3] *ἄκουσιν* VC, probably corrupt. Naber proposed *αἰτοῦσιν*.
[4] *ἐπανέστησαν* supplied by Rk.

While this sort of child's play was going on at Rome, a terrible disaster occurred in Britain. Two cities were sacked, eighty thousand of the Romans and of their allies perished, and the island was lost to Rome. Moreover, all this ruin was brought upon the Romans by a woman, a fact which in itself caused them the greatest shame. Indeed, Heaven gave them indications of the catastrophe beforehand. For at night there was heard to issue from the senate-house foreign jargon mingled with laughter, and from the theatre outcries and lamentations, though no mortal man had uttered the words or the groans; houses were seen under the water in the river Thames, and the ocean between the island and Gaul once grew blood-red at flood-tide. A.D. 61

An excuse for the war was found in the confiscation of the sums of money that Claudius had given to the foremost Britons; for these sums, as Decianus Catus, the procurator of the island, maintained, were to be paid back. This was one reason for the uprising; another was found in the fact that Seneca, in the hope of receiving a good rate of interest, had lent to the islanders 40,000,000 sesterces that they did not want,[1] and had afterwards called in this loan all at once and had resorted to severe measures in exacting it. But the person who was chiefly instrumental in rousing the natives and persuading them to fight the Romans, the person who was thought worthy to be their leader and who

[1] The text, ἄκουσιν, does not give a very satisfactory meaning; Naber would read αἰτοῦσιν, "at their request."

παντὸς στρατηγήσασα, Βουδουῖκα[1] ἦν, γυνὴ
Βρεττανὶς γένους τοῦ βασιλείου, μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ
3 γυναῖκα φρόνημα ἔχουσα. αὕτη γὰρ συνήγαγέ
τε τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ὄν, καὶ
ἀνέβη ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐξ ἐδάφους[2] ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν
τρόπον πεποιημένον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη
καὶ τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τό τε βλέμμα δριμυ-
4 τάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε, τήν τε κόμην
πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὖσαν μέχρι τῶν
γλουτῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν
ἐφόρει, χιτῶνά τε παμποίκιλον ἐνεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ
χλαμύδα ἐπ'[3] αὐτῷ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρπητο.
οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ἐνεσκευάζετο· τότε δὲ καὶ λόγχην
λαβοῦσα, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάντας ἐκπλήττειν,
ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

3 "Πέπεισθε μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἐλευθε-
ρία τῆς δουλείας διαφέρει, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ πρότερόν
τις ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπειρίας ἐπα-
γωγοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠπάτητο,
ἀλλὰ νῦν γε ἑκατέρου πεπειραμένοι μεμαθήκατε
μὲν ὅσον ἡμαρτήκατε δεσποτείαν ἐπισπαστὸν
πρὸ τῆς πατρίου διαίτης προτιμήσαντες, ἐγνώκατε
δὲ ὅσῳ καὶ πενία ἀδέσποτος πλούτου δουλεύοντος
2 προφέρει. τί μὲν γὰρ οὐ τῶν αἰσχίστων, τί δ'
οὐ τῶν ἀλγίστων, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν
οὗτοι παρέκυψαν, πεπόνθαμεν; οὐ τῶν μὲν
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὅλων ἐστε-
3 ρήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν; οὐ
πρὸς τῷ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ νέμειν καὶ γεωργεῖν

[1] Βουδουῖκα Bs., βουνδουῖκα VC (βουδουῖκα ch. 7, 1; 8, 2; 12, 6, βοδουῖκα ch. 6, 1).
[2] ἐξ ἐδάφους Bs., ἐκ γῆς ἐλώδους VC.

directed the conduct of the entire war, was Buduica,[1] A.D. 61
a Briton woman of the royal family and possessed of greater intelligence than often belongs to women. This woman assembled her army, to the number of some 120,000, and then ascended a tribunal which had been constructed of earth in the Roman fashion. In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This was her invariable attire. She now grasped a spear to aid her in terrifying all beholders and spoke as follows:

"You have learned by actual experience how different freedom is from slavery. Hence, although some among you may previously, through ignorance of which was better, have been deceived by the alluring promises of the Romans, yet now that you have tried both, you have learned how great a mistake you made in preferring an imported despotism to your ancestral mode of life, and you have come to realize how much better is poverty with no master than wealth with slavery. For what treatment is there of the most shameful or grievous sort that we have not suffered ever since these men made their appearance in Britain? Have we not been robbed entirely of most of our possessions, and those the greatest, while for those that remain we pay taxes? Besides pasturing and tilling for them

[1] Commonly known as Boadicea.

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[3] ἐπ' Rk., ἐν VC.

*ἐκείνοις, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμὸν ἐτήσιον
φέρομεν; καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἅπαξ τισὶ
πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας
ὀνομάτων κατ᾽ ἔτος λυτροῦσθαι; πόσῳ δὲ
ἐσφάχθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον ἢ κεφαλὰς
ὑποτελεῖς περιφέρειν; καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον;
4 οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τελευτῆσαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀζήμιόν
ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἴστε ὅσον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν
τελοῦμεν· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις
καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντάς τισιν ὁ θάνατος ἐλευθεροῖ,
Ῥωμαίοις δὲ δὴ μόνοις καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ζῶσι πρὸς
5 τὰ λήμματα. τί δ᾽ ὅτι, κἂν μὴ ἔχῃ τις ἡμῶν
ἀργύριον (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν), ἀποδυόμεθα καὶ
σκυλευόμεθα ὥσπερ οἱ φονευόμενοι; τί δ᾽ ἂν
προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου μετριάσαιεν, οὕτως ἡμῖν
κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθύς, ὅτε[1] πάντες καὶ τὰ θηρία
τὰ νεάλωτα θεραπεύουσι, προσενηνεγμένοι;*

4 *Ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἴτιοι,
ὥς γε τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς
ἐπιβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ
οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτούς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα
τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκεῖνον, ἐξηλάσαμεν· οἵτινες οὐ
πόρρωθέν σφισιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ καὶ τῷ
Γαΐῳ τῷ Καλιγόλᾳ, φοβερὸν τὸ καὶ πειρᾶσαι τὸν
2 πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν. τοιγαροῦν νῆσον τηλικαύτην,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἤπειρον τρόπον τινὰ περίρρυτον νεμόμενοι
καὶ ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην ἔχοντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον
ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀφ᾽ ἁπάντων τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων ἀφωρισμένοι ὥστε καὶ γῆν ἄλλην καὶ*

[1] ὅτε Sylb., ὅτι VC.

all our other possessions, do we not pay a yearly tribute for our very bodies? How much better it would be to have been sold to masters once for all than, possessing empty titles of freedom, to have to ransom ourselves every year! How much better to have been slain and to have perished than to go about with a tax on our heads! Yet why do I mention death? For even dying is not free of cost with them; nay, you know what fees we deposit even for our dead. Among the rest of mankind death frees even those who are in slavery to others; only in the case of the Romans do the very dead remain alive for their profit. Why is it that, though none of us has any money (how, indeed, could we, or where could we get it?), we are stripped and despoiled like a murderer's victims? And why should the Romans be expected to display moderation as time goes on, when they have behaved toward us in this fashion at the very outset, when all men show consideration even for the beasts they have newly captured? A.D. 61

"But, to speak the plain truth, it is we who have made ourselves responsible for all these evils, in that we allowed them to set foot on the island in the first place instead of expelling them at once as we did their famous Julius Caesar,—yes, and in that we did not deal with them while they were still far away as we dealt with Augustus and with Gaius Caligula and make even the attempt to sail hither a formidable thing. As a consequence, although we inhabit so large an island, or rather a continent, one might say, that is encircled by the sea, and although we possess a veritable world of our own and are so separated by the ocean from all the rest of mankind

οὐρανὸν ἄλλον οἰκεῖν πεπιστεῦσθαι καί τινας
αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς σοφωτάτους γε[1] μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα
ἡμῶν ἀκριβῶς πρότερον ἐγνωκέναι, κατεφρο-
νήθημεν καὶ κατεπατήθημεν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν
3 ἄλλο ἢ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰδότων. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ
πρότερον, νῦν ἔτι, ὦ πολῖται καὶ φίλοι καὶ
συγγενεῖς (πάντας γὰρ ὑμᾶς συγγενεῖς, ἅτε καὶ
μιᾶς νήσου οἰκήτορας ὄντας καὶ ἓν ὄνομα κοινὸν
κεκλημένους,[2] νομίζω), τὰ προσήκοντα πράξωμεν,
ἕως ἔτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μνημονεύομεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ
πρόσρημα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τοῖς παισὶ κατα-
λίπωμεν. ἂν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῆς συντρόφου εὐδαιμονίας
παντελῶς ἐκλαθώμεθα, τί ποτε ἐκεῖνοι ποιήσουσιν
ἐν δουλείᾳ τραφέντες;
5 Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐχ ἵνα μισήσητε τὰ παρόντα
(μεμισήκατε γάρ), οὐδ' ἵνα φοβηθῆτε τὰ μέλλοντα
(πεφόβησθε γάρ), ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπαινέσω τε ὑμᾶς ὅτι
καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πάνθ' ὅσα δεῖ προαιρεῖσθε, καὶ
χάριν ὑμῖν γνῶ ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἑτοίμως
συναίρεσθε. φοβεῖσθε δὲ μηδαμῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους·
2 οὔτε γὰρ πλείους ἡμῶν εἰσιν οὔτ' ἀνδρειότεροι.
τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ
κνημῖσιν ἐσκέπασθε καὶ προσέτι καὶ σταυρώμασι
καὶ τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις ἐσκεύασθε[3] πρὸς τὸ μή τι[4]
πάσχειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πολεμίων. τοῦτο γὰρ

[1] γε R. Steph., τε VC.

[2] κεκλημένους v. Herw. (cf. Thuc. 4, 64, 3), κεκτημένους VC.

[3] A corrupt passage. ⟨ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ⟩ ἐσκέπασθε . . . ⟨οὐκ⟩ ἐσκεύασθε H. Stephanus; τεκμήριον δὲ τό τε ⟨αὐτοὺς⟩ . . . ἐσκεπάσθαι . . . ἐσκευάσθαι Reiske; τεκμηριοῖ δὲ τὸ . . .

that we have been believed to dwell on a different A.D. 61
earth and under a different sky, and that some of the outside world, aye, even their wisest men, have not hitherto known for a certainty even by what name we are called, we have, notwithstanding all this, been despised and trampled underfoot by men who know nothing else than how to secure gain. However, even at this late day, though we have not done so before, let us, my countrymen and friends and kinsmen,—for I consider you all kinsmen, seeing that you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name,—let us, I say, do our duty while we still remember what freedom is, that we may leave to our children not only its appellation but also its reality. For, if we utterly forget the happy state in which we were born and bred, what, pray, will they do, reared in bondage?

"All this I say, not with the purpose of inspiring you with a hatred of present conditions,—that hatred you already have,—nor with fear for the future,—that fear you already have,—but of commending you because you now of your own accord choose the requisite course of action, and of thanking you for so readily co-operating with me and with each other. Have no fear whatever of the Romans; for they are superior to us neither in numbers nor in bravery. And here is the proof: they have protected themselves with helmets and breastplates and greaves and yet further provided themselves with palisades and walls and trenches to make sure of suffering no harm by an incursion of their enemies. For they are

ἐσκεπάσθαι . . . ἐσκευάσθαι Boissevain The translation follows Reiske and Boissevain.

[4] μήτι V, μηκέτι C.

αἱροῦνται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν φόβων ἢ τὸ καὶ
3 δρᾶσαί τι προχείρως ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς. τοσαύτῃ
γὰρ περιουσίᾳ ἀνδρίας χρώμεθα ὥστε καὶ τὰς
σκηνὰς ἀσφαλεστέρας τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας πολυαρκεστέρας τῆς ἐκείνων πανοπλίας
νομίζειν. ἐξ οὗπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ κρατοῦντες
αἱροῦμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ βιασθέντες ἐκφεύγομεν, κἂν
ἄρα καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαί ποι προελώμεθα, ἐς τοιαῦτα
ἕλη καὶ ὄρη καταδυόμεθα ὥστε μήτε εὑρεθῆναι
4 μήτε ληφθῆναι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὔτε διῶξαί τινα ὑπὸ
τοῦ βάρους οὔτε φυγεῖν[1] δύνανται, κἂν ἄρα καὶ
ἐκδράμωσί ποτε, ἔς τε χωρία ἀποδεδειγμένα
καταφεύγουσι,[2] κἀνταῦθα ὥσπερ ἐς γαλεάγρας
5 κατακλείονται. ἔν τε οὖν τούτοις παρὰ πολὺ
ἡμῶν ἐλαττοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις, ὅτι οὔτε λιμὸν
οὔτε δίψος, οὐ ψῦχος οὐ καῦμα ὑποφέρουσιν
ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ σκέπης
σίτου τε μεμαγμένου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου
δέονται, κἂν ἄρα τι τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπῃ
διαφθείρονται, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ πᾶσα μὲν πόα καὶ
ῥίζα σῖτός ἐστι, πᾶς δὲ χυμὸς ἔλαιον, πᾶν δὲ
6 ὕδωρ οἶνος, πᾶν δὲ δένδρον οἰκία. καὶ μὴν καὶ
τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὲν συνήθη καὶ σύμμαχα,
ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄγνωστα καὶ πολέμια· καὶ
τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἡμεῖς μὲν γυμνοὶ διανέομεν, ἐκεῖ-
νοι δὲ οὐδὲ πλοίοις ῥᾳδίως περαιοῦνται. ἀλλ'
ἴωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ θαρροῦντες.
δείξωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι λαγωοὶ καὶ ἀλώπεκες ὄντες
κυνῶν καὶ λύκων ἄρχειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν."

6 Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα λαγὼν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου

[1] φυγεῖν R. Steph., φυγῆς VC.

influenced by their fears when they adopt this kind A.D. 61
of fighting in preference to the plan we follow of rough and ready action. Indeed, we enjoy such a surplus of bravery, that we regard our tents as safer than their walls and our shields as affording greater protection than their whole suits of mail. As a consequence, we when victorious capture them, and when overpowered elude them; and if we ever choose to retreat anywhere, we conceal ourselves in swamps and mountains so inaccessible that we can be neither discovered nor taken. Our opponents, however, can neither pursue anybody, by reason of their heavy armour, nor yet flee; and if they ever do slip away from us, they take refuge in certain appointed spots, where they shut themselves up as in a trap. But these are not the only respects in which they are vastly inferior to us: there is also the fact that they cannot bear up under hunger, thirst, cold, or heat, as we can. They require shade and covering, they require kneaded bread and wine and oil, and if any of these things fails them, they perish; for us, on the other hand, any grass or root serves as bread, the juice of any plant as oil, any water as wine, any tree as a house. Furthermore, this region is familiar to us and is our ally, but to them it is unknown and hostile. As for the rivers, we swim them naked, whereas they do not get across them easily even with boats. Let us, therefore, go against them trusting boldly to good fortune. Let us show them that they are hares and foxes trying to rule over dogs and wolves."

When she had finished speaking, she employed a

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[2] καταφεύγουσι Sylb., καταφεύγωσι VC.

προήκατο μαντείᾳ τινὶ χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν
αἰσίῳ σφίσιν ἔδραμε, τό τε πλῆθος πᾶν ἡσθὲν
ἀνεβόησε, καὶ ἡ Βουδουῖκα τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν
2 οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα εἶπε "χάριν τέ σοι ἔχω, ὦ
Ἀνδράστη,[1] καὶ προσεπικαλοῦμαί σε γυνὴ γυ-
ναῖκα, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίων ἀχθοφόρων ἄρχουσα ὡς
Νίτωκρις, οὐδ' Ἀσσυρίων τῶν ἐμπόρων ὡς
Σεμίραμις (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἤδη παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
3 μεμαθήκαμεν), οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ὡς
πρότερον μὲν Μεσσαλῖνα ἔπειτ' Ἀγριππῖνα νῦν
δὲ καὶ Νέρων (ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ[2] ἀνδρὸς ἔχει, ἔργῳ
δὲ γυνή ἐστι· σημεῖον δέ, ᾄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει καὶ
καλλωπίζεται), ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργεῖν
μὲν ἢ δημιουργεῖν οὐκ εἰδότων, πολεμεῖν δὲ
ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα
κοινὰ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν[3] τοῖς
4 ἄρρεσιν ἀρετὴν ἐχουσῶν. τοιούτων οὖν ἀνδρῶν
καὶ τοιούτων γυναικῶν βασιλεύουσα[4] προσ-
εύχομαί τέ σοι καὶ αἰτῶ[5] νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν
καὶ ἐλευθερίαν κατ' ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν ἀδίκων
ἀπλήστων ἀνοσίων, εἴ γε καὶ ἄνδρας χρὴ καλεῖν
ἀνθρώπους ὕδατι θερμῷ λουμένους,[6] ὄψα σκευ-
αστὰ ἐσθίοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον πίνοντας, μύρῳ
ἀλειφομένους, μαλθακῶς κοιμωμένους, μετὰ μει-
ρακίων, καὶ τούτων ἐξώρων, καθεύδοντας, κιθα-
5 ρῳδῷ, καὶ τούτῳ κακῷ, δουλεύοντας. μὴ γάρ

[1] ἀνδράστη C cor., ἀδράστη VC.
[2] γὰρ supplied by Bs.

species of divination, letting a hare escape from the fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they considered the auspicious side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Buduica, raising her hand toward heaven, said: "I thank thee, Andraste,[1] and call upon thee as woman speaking to woman; for I rule over no burden-bearing Egyptians as did Nitocris, nor over trafficking Assyrians as did Semiramis (for we have by now gained thus much learning from the Romans!), much less over the Romans themselves as did Messalina once and afterwards Agrippina and now Nero (who, though in name a man, is in fact a woman, as is proved by his singing, lyre-playing and beautification of his person); nay, those over whom I rule are Britons, men that know not how to till the soil or ply a trade, but are thoroughly versed in the art of war and hold all things in common, even children and wives, so that the latter possess the same valour as the men. As the queen, then, of such men and of such women, I supplicate and pray thee for victory, preservation of life, and liberty against men insolent, unjust, insatiable, impious,—if, indeed, we ought to term those people men who bathe in warm water, eat artificial dainties, drink unmixed wine, anoint themselves with myrrh, sleep on soft couches with boys for bedfellows,—boys past their prime at that,—and are slaves to a lyre-player and a poor one too. A.D. 61

[1] A goddess of the Britons.

[3] τὴν αὐτὴν C[2], τῶν αὐτὴν C[1], τῶν ἐς τὴν V.
[4] βασιλεύουσα R. Steph., βασιλεύουσαν VC.
[5] αἰτῶ Sylb., αὐτῶ VC.
[6] λουμένους Dind., λουομένους VC.

τοι μήτ'[1] ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑμῶν ἔτι βασιλεύσειεν ἡ Νερωνὶς ἡ Δομιτία, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν Ῥωμαίων ᾄδουσα δεσποζέτω (καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτῃ γυναικὶ δουλεύειν, ἧς τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννούσης), ἡμῶν δὲ σύ, ὦ δέσποινα, ἀεὶ μόνη προστατοίης."[2]

7 Τοιαῦτ' ἄττα ἡ Βουδουῖκα δημηγορήσασα ἐπῆγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν στρατιάν· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἄναρχοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ Παυλῖνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νῆσόν τινα Μῶνναν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Βρεττανίας κειμένην ἐπιστρατεῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο πόλεις τε δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ φόνον ἀμύθητον, ὡς ἔφην, εἰργάσατο· τοῖς τε ἁλισκομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν
2 δεινοτάτων ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐγίνετο. καὶ ὃ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἔπραξαν· τὰς γὰρ γυναῖκας τὰς εὐγενεστάτας καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς ἐκρέμασαν, καὶ τούς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοῖς στόμασί σφων προσέρραπτον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐσθίουσαι αὐτοὺς ὁρῷντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος
3 κατὰ μῆκος ἀνέπειραν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύοντές τε ἅμα καὶ ἑστιώμενοι καὶ[3] ὑβρίζοντες, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μάλιστα ἄλσει ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε[4] γὰρ τὴν Νίκην ὠνόμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιττότατα.

8 Ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος ἔτυχε μὲν ἤδη τὴν Μῶνναν παραστησάμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Μώννης. καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι μὲν αὐτίκα πρὸς

[1] μήτ' Bk., μὴ VC.
[2] προστατοίης Sylb., παραστατοίης VC.

Wherefore may this Mistress Domitia-Nero reign no longer over me or over you men; let the wench sing and lord it over Romans, for they surely deserve to be the slaves of such a woman after having submitted to her so long. But for us, Mistress, be thou alone ever our leader." A.D. 61

Having finished an appeal to her people of this general tenor, Buduica led her army against the Romans; for these chanced to be without a leader, inasmuch as Paulinus, their commander, had gone on an expedition to Mona, an island near Britain. This enabled her to sack and plunder two Roman cities, and, as I have said, to wreak indescribable slaughter. Those who were taken captive by the Britons were subjected to every known form of outrage. The worst and most bestial atrocity committed by their captors was the following. They hung up naked the noblest and most distinguished women and then cut off their breasts and sewed them to their mouths, in order to make the victims appear to be eating them; afterwards they impaled the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through the entire body. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets and wanton behaviour, not only in all their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate. This was their name for Victory, and they regarded her with most exceptional reverence.

Now it chanced that Paulinus had already brought Mona to terms, and so on learning of the disaster in Britain he at once set sail thither from Mona. However, he was not willing to risk a conflict with the

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[3] καὶ V, om. C. [4] τε V, καὶ C.

τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἤθελε, τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν φοβούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐπιτηδειότερον καιρὸν τὴν μάχην ὑπερετίθετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σίτου τε ἐσπάνιζε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐγκείμενοι οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἠναγκάσθη καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς
2 συμβαλεῖν. ἡ μὲν[1] οὖν Βουδοῦικα ἐς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν στράτευμα ἔχουσα αὐτὴ μὲν ἐφ' ἅρματος ὠχεῖτο,[2] τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς ἑκάστους διέταξεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Παυλῖνος μήτε ἀντιπαρατεῖναί οἱ τὴν φάλαγγα δυνηθείς (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ ἐφ' ἕνα ἐτάχθησαν ἐξικνοῦντο· τοσοῦ-
3 τον ἠλαττοῦντο τῷ πλήθει) μήτ' αὖ καθ' ἓν[3] συμβαλεῖν, μὴ καὶ περιστοιχισθεὶς[4] κατακοπῇ, τολμήσας, τριχῇ τε ἔνειμε τὸν στρατὸν ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἅμα μάχοιντο, καὶ ἐπύκνωσεν ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ὥστε δύσρηκτον εἶναι.

Συντάττων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστὰς προσπαρ-
9 ήνει, λέγων· "ἄγετε, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἄγετε, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, δείξατε τοῖς ὀλέθροις τούτοις ὅσον καὶ δυστυχοῦντες αὐτῶν προφέρομεν· αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκτήσασθε, νῦν ἀκλεῶς ἀπολέσαι. πολλάκις τοι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐλάττους ὄντες πολὺ πλείονας ἀντιπάλους καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ
2 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐνίκησαν. μήτ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν φοβηθῆτε καὶ[5] τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν (ἐκ γὰρ ἀόπλου καὶ ἀμελετήτου προπετείας θρασύνονται), μήθ' ὅτι πόλεις τινὰς ἐμπεπρήκασιν· οὐ

[1] ἡ μὲν C², ἡμᾶς VC¹.
[2] ὠχεῖτο R. Steph., ὀχεῖτο VC.
[3] ἓν Bk., ἕνα VC.
[4] περιστοιχισθεὶς Reim., περιστοιχηθεὶς VC.

barbarians immediately, as he feared their numbers A.D. 61 and their desperation, but was inclined to postpone battle to a more convenient season. But as he grew short of food and the barbarians pressed relentlessly upon him, he was compelled, contrary to his judgement, to engage them. Buduica, at the head of an army of about 230,000 men, rode in a chariot herself and assigned the others to their several stations. Paulinus could not extend his line the whole length of hers, for, even if the men had been drawn up only one deep, they would not have reached far enough, so inferior were they in numbers; nor, on the other hand, did he dare join battle in a single compact force, for fear of being surrounded and cut to pieces. He therefore separated his army into three divisions, in order to fight at several points at one and the same time, and he made each of the divisions so strong that it could not easily be broken through.

While ordering and arranging his men he also exhorted them, saying: "Up, fellow-soldiers! Up, Romans! Show these accursed wretches how far we surpass them even in the midst of evil fortune. It would be shameful, indeed, for you to lose ingloriously now what but a short time ago you won by your valour. Many a time, assuredly, have both we ourselves and our fathers, with far fewer numbers than we have at present, conquered far more numerous antagonists. Fear not, then, their numbers or their spirit of rebellion; for their boldness rests on nothing more than headlong rashness unaided by arms or training. Neither fear them because they have burned a couple of cities; for they did not capture

[5] καὶ R. Steph., μήτε V, καί τε C.

*γὰρ κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲ ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν
προδοθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐκλειφθεῖσαν εἷλον· ἀνθ' ὧν
νῦν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτῶν δίκην λάβετε,
ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐκμάθωσιν οἵους ὄντας
ἡμᾶς οἷοι ὄντες ἠδικήκασι."*

10 *Ταῦτά τισιν εἰπὼν ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἦλθε, καὶ
ἔφη· "νὺν καιρός, ὦ συστρατιῶται, προθυμίας,
νῦν τόλμης. ἂν τήμερον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένησθε,
καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναλήψεσθε· ἂν τούτων κρα-
τήσητε, οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων
ἀντιστήσεται. διὰ μιᾶς τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ τὰ
ὑπάρχοντα βεβαιώσεσθε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκα-*
2 *ταστρέψεσθε· πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοθί που
ὄντες στρατιῶται ζηλώσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐχθροὶ
φοβηθήσονται. ὥστε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἢ
πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀδεῶς ἄρχειν ὧν καὶ οἱ πα-
τέρες ὑμῶν κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς προσεπε-
κτήσασθε, ἢ πάντως αὐτῶν στερηθῆναι, ἕλεσθε
ἐλεύθεροι*[1] *εἶναι, ἄρχειν πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν
μᾶλλον ἢ τἀναντία αὐτῶν ῥᾳθυμήσαντες παθεῖν."*

11 *Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς
τρίτους ἐπιπαρῆλθε, καὶ ἔλεξε καὶ ἐκείνοις·
"ἠκούσατε μὲν οἷα ἡμᾶς οἱ κατάρατοι οὗτοι
δεδράκασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ εἴδετε·*
2 *ὥσθ' ἕλεσθε πότερον*[2] *καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεί-
νοις παθεῖν*[3] *καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκπεσεῖν παντελῶς*

[1] *ἐλεύθεροι* late corr. in C, *ὄλεθροι* VC.
[2] *πότερον* C, *πότεροι* V.

them by force nor after a battle, but one was betrayed and the other abandoned to them. Exact from them now, therefore, the proper penalty for these deeds, and let them learn by actual experience the difference between us, whom they have wronged, and themselves." A.D. 61

After addressing these words to one division he came to another and said: "Now is the time, fellow-soldiers, for zeal, now is the time for daring. For if you show yourselves brave men to-day, you will recover all that you have lost; if you overcome these foes, no one else will any longer withstand us. By one such battle you will both make your present possessions secure and subdue whatever remains; for everywhere our soldiers, even though they are in other lands, will emulate you and foes will be terror-stricken. Therefore, since you have it within your power either to rule all mankind without a fear, both the nations that your fathers left to you and those that you yourselves have gained in addition, or else to be deprived of them altogether, choose to be free, to rule, to live in wealth, and to enjoy prosperity, rather than, by avoiding the effort, to suffer the opposite of all this."

After making an address of this sort to these men, he went on to the third division, and to them he said: "You have heard what outrages these damnable men have committed against us, nay more, you have even witnessed some of them. Choose, then, whether you wish to suffer the same treatment yourselves as our comrades have suffered and to be driven

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[3] H. Steph. supplied βούλεσθε or ἐθέλετε after πότερον. Such a word is required either there or after παθεῖν.

ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἢ κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῖς
ἀπολωλόσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις
ἅπασι παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πειθαρ-
χοῦν εὐμενοῦς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζον
3 ἀναγκαίας τραχύτητος.[1] μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε
νικήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζω καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν
συμμαχίᾳ (τοῖς γὰρ ἀδικουμένοις ὡς τὸ πολὺ
συναίρονται) καὶ τῇ πατρῴᾳ ἡμῶν ἀνδρίᾳ,
Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων κεκρατηκότας, καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις
(καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τούτους τοὺς νῦν ἀντικαθεστῶτας
ἡττήσαντες κεχειρώμεθα), τῷ τε ἀξιώματι (οὐ
γὰρ ἀντιπάλοις τισὶν ἀλλὰ δούλοις ἡμετέροις
συμβαλοῦμεν, οὓς καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονό-
4 μους[2] ὄντας ἐνικήσαμεν[3])· ἂν δὲ δὴ παρ' ἐλπίδα
τι συμβῇ (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ[4] τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω),
ἄμεινόν ἐστι μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀνδρείως πεσεῖν
ἢ ἁλόντας ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰ
ἑαυτῶν ἐκτμηθέντα ἰδεῖν, πασσάλοις διαπύροις
ἀναπαρῆναι καὶ ὕδατι ζέοντι τηκομένους ἀπο-
λέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐς θηρία τινὰ ἄγρια ἄνομα
5 ἀνόσια ἐμπεπτωκότας. ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα
αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν. καλὸν τὸ μνη-
μεῖον τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἕξομεν, κἂν πάντες οἱ
λοιποὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσωσι· τοῖς γὰρ
σώμασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις πάντως αὐτὴν ἀεὶ καθέ-
ξομεν."

12 Τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ἦρε
τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μάχης· κἀκ τούτου συνῆλθον,

[1] τραχύτητος C, ταχύτητος V.
[2] αὐτονόμους R. Steph., αὐτομόλους VC.
[3] ἐνικήσαμεν Reim., εἰάσαμεν VC.

out of Britain entirely, besides, or else by conquering A.D. 61
to avenge those that have perished and at the same time furnish to the rest of mankind an example, not only of benevolent clemency toward the obedient, but also of inevitable severity toward the rebellious. For my part, I hope, above all, that victory will be ours; first, because the gods are our allies (for they almost always side with those who have been wronged); second, because of the courage that is our heritage, since we are Romans and have triumphed over all mankind by our valour; next, because of our experience (for we have defeated and subdued these very men who are now arrayed against us); and lastly, because of our prestige (for those with whom we are about to engage are not antagonists, but our slaves, whom we conquered even when they were free and independent). Yet if the outcome should prove contrary to our hope, —for I will not shrink from mentioning even this possibility,—it would be better for us to fall fighting bravely than to be captured and impaled, to look upon our own entrails cut from our bodies, to be spitted on red-hot skewers, to perish by being melted in boiling water—in a word, to suffer as though we had been thrown to lawless and impious wild beasts. Let us, therefore, either conquer them or die on the spot. Britain will be a noble monument for us, even though all the other Romans here should be driven out; for in any case our bodies shall for ever possess this land."

After addressing these and like words to them he raised the signal for battle. Thereupon the armies

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[4] οὐδὲ supplied by Bs.

οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ᾠδαῖς ἀπειλητικαῖς χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σιγῇ καὶ κόσμῳ, μέχρις οὗ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο.
2 *ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἤδη βάδην τῶν*[1] *πολεμίων προσιόντων σφίσιν ἐξάξαντες*[2] *ἅμα ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ προσμίξει ῥᾳδίως τὴν ἀντίταξίν σφων διέρρηξαν, περισχεθέντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν ἅμα*
3 *ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν πολύτροπος· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ ψιλοὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀντέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ὁπλῖται τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἀνθίσταντο, οἵ τε ἱππεῖς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι συνεφέροντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἅρματα τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τοξόται τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντηγωνίζοντο. τούς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οἱ βάρβαροι ῥύμῃ τοῖς ἅρμασι προσπίπτοντες ἀνέτρεπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἅτε καὶ δίχα θωράκων μαχόμενοι, ἀνεστέλλοντο· ἱππεύς τε πεζὸν ἀνέτρεπε, καὶ*
4 *πεζὸς ἱππέα κατέβαλλε· πρός τε τὰ ἅρματα συμφραξάμενοί τινες ἐχώρουν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάννυντο· τούς τε τοξότας οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε σφίσιν ἰόντες ἔτρεπον, οἱ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐφυλάσσοντο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἓν ἀλλὰ τριχῇ*
5 *πάνθ' ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο. ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφότεροι προθυμίας καὶ τόλμης. τέλος δὲ ὀψέ ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἁμάξαις τῇ τε ὕλῃ κατεφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ*
6 *καὶ ζῶντας εἷλον. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ διέφυγον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὖθις μαχού-*

[1] *βάδην τῶν* Sylb., *βα . . . τῶν* C, *. . . τῶν* V.
[2] *ἐξάξαντες* Bk., *ἐξάραντες* C, *ἐπάραντες* V.

approached each other, the barbarians with much A.D. 61
shouting mingled with menacing battle-songs, but the Romans silently and in order until they came within a javelin's throw of the enemy. Then, while their foes were still advancing against them at a walk, the Romans rushed forward at a signal and charged them at full speed, and when the clash came, easily broke through the opposing ranks; but, as they were surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy, they had to be fighting everywhere at once. Their struggle took many forms. Light-armed troops exchanged missiles with light-armed, heavy-armed were opposed to heavy-armed, cavalry clashed with cavalry, and against the chariots of the barbarians the Roman archers contended. The barbarians would assail the Romans with a rush of their chariots, knocking them helter-skelter, but, since they fought without breastplates, would themselves be repulsed by the arrows. Horseman would overthrow foot-soldier and foot-soldier strike down horseman; a group of Romans, forming in close order, would advance to meet the chariots, and others would be scattered by them; a band of Britons would come to close quarters with the archers and rout them, while others were content to dodge their shafts at a distance; and all this was going on not at one spot only, but in all three divisions at once. They contended for a long time, both parties being animated by the same zeal and daring. But finally, late in the day, the Romans prevailed; and they slew many in battle beside the wagons and the forest, and captured many alive. Nevertheless, not a few made their escape and were preparing to fight again. In the meantime, however,

μενοι, ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς Βουδουίκης νόσῳ ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς ἐπένθησαν καὶ πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὡς καὶ τότε ὄντως ἡττηθέντες διεσκεδάσθησαν.—Xiph. 158, 24–165, 20 R. St.

13 Καὶ τὰ μὲν Βρεττανικὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁ Νέρων Ὀκταβίαν τὴν Αὔγουσταν ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν πρότερον διὰ Σαβῖναν τὴν παλλακίδα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε,[1] καίτοι τοῦ Βούρρου ἐναντιουμένου αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύοντος
2 ἀποπέμψασθαι, καί ποτε εἰπόντος "οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν προῖκα αὐτῇ" τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν "ἀπόδος." οὕτω γάρ πως ἐρρωμένως αὐτῇ[2] ἐχρῆτο ὥστε ποτὲ δεύτερον ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γνώμην περὶ ὧν ἀπεφήνατο, εἶπεν ἄντικρυς ὅτι "περὶ ὧν ἂν ἅπαξ τι εἴπω, μηκέτι μου αὖθις πύθῃ."—Xiph. 165, 20–28 R. St.

3 Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν φαρμάκῳ διώλεσε, Τιγελλῖνον δέ τινα Σωφρόνιον, ἀσελγείᾳ τε καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ πάντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράραντα, σὺν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ[3] ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχὴν κατέστησεν.—Xiph. 165, 28–31 R. St.

[1] Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 39, 12–20 D.): *καὶ τὴν Αὐγούσταν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀπεπέμψατο· τῆς γὰρ Σαβίνης ἐρῶν ἤθελεν αὐτῇ συνεῖναι ὡς γαμετῇ. δείσασα δὲ ἡ Σαβῖνα μήποτε ἡ Ὀκταουία μετακληθῇ, κατηγόρους ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ μοιχείας καὶ γοητείας ψευδοῦς παρεσκευάσατο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φυγαδευθῆναι αὐτήν, ἔπειτα καὶ σφαγῆναι ἐποίησεν.*

Joann. Antioch. (fr. 90 M. v. 93–96): *καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν Ὀκταβίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα, δι' ἣν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἥκιστα παρεληλύθει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο ἔπειτα καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.*

[2] *αὐτῇ*, i.e. *τῇ παρρησίᾳ*. Dio had probably used this word

Buduica fell sick and died. The Britons mourned her deeply and gave her a costly burial; but, feeling that now at last they were really defeated, they scattered to their homes. So much for affairs in Britain. A.D. 61

In Rome Nero first divorced Octavia Augusta, on account of his concubine Sabina, and later he put her to death.[1] He did this in spite of the opposition of Burrus, who endeavoured to prevent him from divorcing her, and once said to him, "Well, then, give her back her dowry," by which he meant the sovereignty. Indeed, frankness of speech was characteristic of Burrus and he employed it with such boldness that once, for example, when he was asked by the emperor a second time for his opinion on matters regarding which he had already declared himself, he answered bluntly: "When I have once spoken about anything, don't ask me again." A.D. 62

So Nero disposed of him [Burrus] by poison; and he appointed as one of two men to command the Praetorians a certain Sophronius[2] Tigellinus, who had outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodthirstiness.

[1] Cf. Zonaras: And he divorced his wife, Octavia Augusta, the daughter of Claudius; for being enamoured of Sabina, he wished to live with her as his wife. And Sabina, fearing that Octavia might be recalled some day, suborned persons to accuse her falsely of adultery and witchcraft; she thus brought about her exile at first and later her murder.

Joann. Antioch.: He first divorced and afterwards put to death his wife Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, who had been of no slight assistance to him in gaining the throne.

[2] A mistake for Ofonius.

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earlier in the passage; cf. Petr. Patric. (*exc. Vat.* 53) μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπεν, [3] τινὶ V, ἐνὶ C.

Ὅτι ὁ Τιγελλῖνος διεδέξατο τὸν Βοῦρρον, ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ πάντας τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράρας. τόν τε Νέρωνα ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα Ῥοῦφον παρ' οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο.—Exc. Val. 244 (p. 689).

Πρὸς τοῦτον[1] καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθιάδος ἀπόφθεγμα
4 γενέσθαι λέγεται. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὄντων οἱ ἄλλοι[2] πάντες πλὴν Πυθιάδος συνεπέθεντο μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης αὐτῇ, τῆς μέν, ὅτι ἐδυστύχει, καταφρονήσαντες, τὴν δέ, ὅτι ἴσχυε, κολακεύοντες, μόνη[3] ἡ Πυθιὰς οὔτε τι κατεψεύσατο αὐτῆς, καίπερ πικρότατα βασανισθεῖσα, καὶ τέλος ὡς ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ἐνέκειτο αὐτῇ, προσέπτυσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπε· "καθαρώτερον, ὦ Τιγελλῖνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἡ δέσποινά μου τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἔχει."—Xiph. 165, 31–166, 6 R. St.

14 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Νέρων καὶ γέλωτα καὶ σκώμματα τὰ τῶν συγγενῶν[4] κακὰ ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν γοῦν Πλαῦτον ἀποκτείνας, ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ προσενεχθεῖσάν οἱ ἰδών, "οὐκ ᾔδειν" ἔφη "ὅτι οὕτω[5] μεγάλην ῥῖνα εἶχεν," ὥσπερ φεισάμενος ἂν αὐτοῦ
2 εἰ τοῦτο προηπίστατο.[6] πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐν καπηλικῇ διαίτῃ ποιούμενος ἀπεῖπε τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ἑφθὸν ἐν καπηλείῳ, πλὴν λαχάνων
3 καὶ ἔτνους, πιπράσκειν. τὸν δὲ Πάλλαντα διεχρήσατο, ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἐκέκτητο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς μυρίας μυριάδας αὐτὸν ἀριθμεῖσθαι· καὶ δυσκολίᾳ τρόπων πολλῇ ἐχρῆτο, ὥστε μήτε τοῖς οἰκέταις μήτε τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις διαλέγεσθαί τι

[1] τοῦτον R. Steph., τοῦτο VC.

Tigellinus, who had outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, succeeded Burrus. He won Nero away from the others and made light of his colleague Rufus. A.D. 62

It was to him that the famous retort is said to have been made by Pythias. When all the other attendants of Octavia, with the exception of Pythias, had taken sides with Sabina in her attack upon the empress, despising Octavia because she was in misfortune and toadying to Sabina because she had great influence, Pythias alone had refused, though cruelly tortured, to utter lies against her mistress, and finally, as Tigellinus continued to urge her, she spat in his face, saying: "My mistress's privy parts are cleaner, Tigellinus, than your mouth."

Nero made the misfortunes of his relatives a subject for laughter and jests. For example, after killing Plautus he took a look at his head when it was brought to him and remarked: "I didn't know he had such a big nose"—as much as to say that he would have spared him, had he been aware of this fact beforehand! And though he spent practically his whole existence amid tavern life, he forbade others to sell in taverns anything boiled save vegetables and pea-soup. He put Pallas out of the way because he had amassed a great fortune that was estimated at 400,000,000 sesterces. He would often give way to peevishness; for instance, he would refuse to talk with his servants or freed-

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[2] ἄλλοι V, ἄγγελοι C.
[3] μόνη Bk. (?), μόνη δ' VC.
[4] συγγενῶν cod. Peir. exc. Vat., γυναικῶν VC.
[5] οὕτω supplied by v. Herwerden.
[6] προηπίστατο St., προυπίστατο VC.

ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεῖα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ
προσέτασσέ σφισιν ἐσγράφειν.—Xiph. 166, 7–17
R. St., Exc. Val. 245 (p. 689).

15, 7 Ὅτι ἐκ τῶν συναχθέντων ἐς τὸ Ἄντιον πολλῶν
ἀπολομένων ὁ Νέρων ἐν ἑορτῆς μέρει τοῦτο
ἐποιεῖτο.—Exc. Val. 246 (p. 689).

1a Ὅτι Θρασέας τις γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο ἀνδρὶ
βουλευτῇ ἐσχάτην εἶναι τιμωρίαν τὴν φυγήν.—
Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 58 (p. 212 Mai. = p. 194, 16,
17 Dind.).

1 Τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀκολασία ὥστε
καὶ ἅρματα δημοσίᾳ ἤλαυνε. καί ποτε θηρία
ἀποκτείνας ὕδωρ τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπωχέ-
τευσε καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεὶς μονομαχίαν ἐπιδιέθηκε, καὶ τέλος
ἐσαγαγὼν αὐτὸ αὖθις δεῖπνον δημοσίᾳ πολυτελὲς
2 ἐδείπνισεν.[1] ἑστιάτωρ μὲν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ἀπεδέ-
δεικτο, καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα πολλὴ ἐπεπόριστο·
ἐσκευάσθη δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἐν μὲν τῷ μέσῳ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι τά τε σκεύη τὰ οἰνηρὰ τὰ ξύλινα
τὰ μεγάλα προκαθεῖτο, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν σανίδες
3 ἐπεπήγεσαν, πέριξ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ καπηλεῖα καὶ
οἰκήματα ἐπεποίητο, ὥστε τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ τὸν
Τιγελλῖνον τούς τε συσσίτους αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον
ἔχοντας ἐπί τε ταπήτων πορφυρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ στρω-
μάτων ἁπαλῶν ἐπευωχεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους
4 πάντας ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις εὐθυμεῖσθαι. ἔς τε τὰ
πορνεῖα ἐσῄεσαν, καὶ συνεγίγνοντο πάσαις ἀνέδην
ἁπλῶς ταῖς ἐνταῦθα καθημέναις· ἦσαν δὲ αἵ τε

[1] ἐδείπνισεν Rk., ἐδείπνησεν VC.

men, but instead would jot down all his wishes and commands on tablets. A.D. 62

When many of those who had assembled at Antium perished,[1] Nero made this an occasion for a festival. A.D 63

A certain Thrasea expressed the opinion that for a senator the extreme penalty should be exile.

To such lengths did Nero's licence go that he actually drove chariots in public. And on one occasion after exhibiting a wild-beast hunt he immediately piped water into the theatre and produced a sea-fight; then he let the water out again and arranged a gladiatorial combat. Last of all, he flooded the place once more and gave a costly public banquet. Tigellinus had been appointed director of the banquet and everything had been provided on a lavish scale. The arrangements made were as follows. In the centre of the lake there had first been lowered the great wooden casks used for holding wine, and on top of these, planks had been fastened, while round about this platform taverns and booths had been erected. Thus Nero and Tigellinus and their fellow-banqueters occupied the centre, where they held their feast on purple rugs and soft cushions, while all the rest made merry in the taverns. They would also enter the brothels and without let or hindrance have intercourse with any of the women who were seated there, among whom were the most beautiful and A.D 64

[1] On the occasion of the birth of Nero's daughter at Antium, the entire senate hastened thither to congratulate him (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 23); and many others no doubt did the same. In what manner so many perished we can only conjecture.

περικαλλέσταται καὶ ἐκφανέσταται,[1] δοῦλαί τε καὶ ἐλεύθεραι, ἑταῖραι, παρθένοι, γαμεταί τινων, οὐχ ὅπως δημότιδες ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ εὐγενέ-
5 σταται καὶ κόραι καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ ἦν ἐξουσία παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ σχεῖν ἣν ἤθελεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐταῖς οὐδένα ἀπαρνήσασθαι. ὥστε, οἷα συρφετώδης ὅμιλος, ἀπλήστως τε ἅμα ἔπινον καὶ ἀσελγῶς ὕβριζον, καί τις καὶ δοῦλος τῇ δεσποίνῃ παρόντος τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ μονομάχος εὐγενεῖ
6 κόρῃ ὁρῶντος τοῦ πατρὸς συνεγίνοντο. ὠθισμοί τε καὶ πληγαὶ καὶ θόρυβοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐσιόντων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν περιεστηκότων, αἰσχροὶ συνέβαινον, καὶ ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τούτων συχνοὶ ἐφθάρησαν καὶ γυναῖκες, αἱ μὲν ἀποπνιγεῖσαι αἱ δὲ διαρπαγεῖσαι.

16 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεθύμησεν ὅπερ που ἀεὶ ηὔχετο, τήν τε πόλιν ὅλην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ζῶν ἀναλῶσαι· τὸν γοῦν Πρίαμον καὶ αὐτὸς[2] θαυμαστῶς ἐμακάριζεν[3] ὅτι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἅμα
2 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολομένας εἶδεν. λάθρᾳ γάρ τινας ὡς καὶ μεθύοντας ἢ καὶ κακουργοῦντάς τι ἄλλως διαπέμπων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἕν που καὶ δύο καὶ πλείονα ἄλλα ἄλλοθι ὑπεπίμπρα,[4] ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν παντὶ ἀπορίας γενέσθαι, μήτ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν μήτε τέλος ἐπαγαγεῖν δυναμένους ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὁρῶντας πολλὰ δὲ

[1] περικαλλέσταται καὶ ἐκφανέσταται Sylb., περικαλλέστατοι καὶ ἐκφανέστατοι VC.

[2] καὶ αὐτὸς VC, probably corrupt; κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Polak.

[3] ἐμακάριζεν H. Steph., ἐμακάρισεν VC.

[4] ὑπεπίμπρα Dind., ὑπεμπίπρα VC.

distinguished in the city, both slaves and free, courtesans and virgins and married women; and these were not merely of the common people but also of the very noblest families, both girls and grown women. Every man had the privilege of enjoying whichever one he wished, as the women were not allowed to refuse anyone. Consequently, indiscriminate rabble as the throng was, they not only drank greedily but also wantoned riotously; and now a slave would debauch his mistress in the presence of his master, and now a gladiator would debauch a girl of noble family before the eyes of her father. The pushing and fighting and general uproar that took place, both on the part of those who were actually going in and on the part of those who were standing round outside, were disgraceful. Many men met their death in these encounters, and many women, too, some of the latter being suffocated and some being seized and carried off. A.D. 64

After this Nero set his heart on accomplishing what had doubtless always been his desire, namely to make an end of the whole city and realm during his lifetime. At all events, he, like others before him,[1] used to call Priam wonderfully fortunate in that he had seen his country and his throne destroyed together. Accordingly he secretly sent out men who pretended to be drunk or engaged in other kinds of mischief, and caused them at first to set fire to one or two or even several buildings in different parts of the city, so that the people were at their wits' end, not being able to find any beginning of the trouble nor to put an end to it, though they constantly were aware of many strange

[1] The text is probably corrupt; see critical note.

3 *ἀκούοντας ἄτοπα. οὔτε γὰρ θεάσασθαι ἄλλο τι
ἦν ἢ πυρὰ πολλὰ ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, οὔτε
ἀκοῦσαι λεγόντων τινῶν ἢ ὅτι "τὸ καὶ τὸ καίε-
ται." "ποῦ;" "πῶς;" "ὑπὸ τίνος;" "βοη-
θεῖτε." θόρυβός τε οὖν ἐξαίσιος πανταχοῦ πάν-
τας κατελάμβανε, καὶ διέτρεχον οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ*
4 *τῇ ὥσπερ ἔμπληκτοι. καὶ ἄλλοις τινὲς ἐπαμύ-
νοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τὰ οἴκοι καιόμενα· καὶ ἕτεροι
πρὶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι τῶν σφετέρων τι ἐμπέπρη-
σται, ἐμάνθανον ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν. οἵ τε ἐκ τῶν
οἰκιῶν ἐς τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐξέτρεχον ὡς καὶ ἔξωθεν
αὐταῖς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν εἴσω*
5 *ἐσέθεον ὡς καὶ ἔνδον τι ἀνύσοντες. καὶ ἦν ἥ τε
κραυγὴ καὶ ὀλολυγὴ παίδων ὁμοῦ γυναικῶν
ἀνδρῶν γερόντων ἄπλετος, ὥστε μήτε συνιδεῖν
μήτε συνεῖναί τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς
κραυγῆς δύνασθαι· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁρᾶν ἦν τινας*
6 *ἀφώνους ἑστῶτας ὥσπερ ἐνεοὺς ὄντας. κἀν
τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐκκομιζόμενοι,
πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπάζοντες ἀλλήλοις
τε ἐνεπλάζοντο καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκεύεσιν ἐσφάλ-
λοντο, καὶ οὔτε προϊέναι ποι οὔθ' ἑστάναι εἶχον,*
7 *ἀλλ' ὤθουν ὠθοῦντο, ἀνέτρεπον ἀνετρέποντο. καὶ
συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπεπνίγοντο συχνοὶ δὲ συνετρίβοντο,
ὥστε σφίσι μηδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δυναμένων ἀνθρώποις
ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθει κακῶν συμβῆναι μὴ συνε-
νεχθῆναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ'*[1] *ἀποφυγεῖν που ῥᾳδίως*

[1] *οὐδ'* Bk., *οὔτ'* VC.

sights and sounds. For there was naught to be seen but many fires, as in a camp, and naught to be heard from the talk of the people except such exclamations as "This or that is afire," "Where?" "How did it happen?" "Who kindled it?" "Help!" Extraordinary excitement laid hold on all the citizens in all parts of the city, and they ran about, some in one direction and some in another, as if distracted. Here men while assisting their neighbours would learn that their own premises were afire; there others, before word reached them that their own houses had caught fire, would be told that they were destroyed. Those who were inside their houses would run out into the narrow streets thinking that they could save them from the outside, while people in the streets would rush into the dwellings in the hope of accomplishing something inside. There was shouting and wailing without end, of children, women, men, and the aged all together, so that no one could see anything or understand what was said by reason of the smoke and the shouting; and for this reason some might be seen standing speechless, as if they were dumb. Meanwhile many who were carrying out their goods and many, too, who were stealing the property of others, kept running into one another and falling over their burdens. It was not possible to go forward nor yet to stand still, but people pushed and were pushed in turn, upset others and were themselves upset. Many were suffocated, many were trampled underfoot; in a word, no evil that can possibly happen to people in such a crisis failed to befall them. They could not even escape anywhere easily; and if anybody A.D. 64

ἐδύναντο·[1] κἂν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος τις περιεσώθη, ἐς ἕτερον ἐμπεσὼν ἐφθείρετο.

17 Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μόνον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλείους καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἶκοι ἔρημοι τοῦ βοηθήσοντός σφισιν ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπικουρούντων προσκατεπρήσθησαν· οἵ γὰρ στρατιῶται, οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακες, πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἀφορῶντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεσβέννυσάν
2 τινα ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξέκαιον. τοιούτων[2] δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ἄλλοθι συμβαινόντων, ὑπέλαβέ ποτε τὸ πῦρ ἄνεμος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁμοῦ[3] πάντα ἤγαγεν, ὥστε σκευῶν μὲν πέρι ἢ οἰκιῶν μηδένα μηδὲν ἔτι φροντίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἑστῶτάς που ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τινι ὁρᾶν ὥσπερ νήσους
3 τινὰς καὶ πόλεις ἅμα πολλὰς φλεγομένας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις μηδὲν ἔτι λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον ὀδυρομένους ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸ πλεῖον
18 τῆς πόλεως διεφθάρη. πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω διακειμένων, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐμπηδώντων, ὁ Νέρων ἔς τε τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ παλατίου,[4] ὅθεν μάλιστα σύνοπτα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καιομένων ἦν, ἀνῆλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν λαβὼν ᾖσεν ἅλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἰλίου, ὡς δὲ ἑωρᾶτο, Ῥώμης.

2 Τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει τότε ἡ πόλις ἐχρήσατο οἵῳ οὔτε πρότερόν ποτε οὔθ' ὕστερον, πλὴν τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ. τό τε γὰρ Παλάτιον τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν

[1] ἐδύναντο Bk., ἠδύναντο VC.
[2] τοιούτων V, τῶν C.
[3] ὁμοῦ C, ἡμῶν V.

did save himself from the immediate danger, he would fall into another and perish. A.D. 64

Now this did not all take place on a single day, but it lasted for several days and nights alike. Many houses were destroyed for want of anyone to help save them, and many others were set on fire by the very men who came to lend assistance; for the soldiers, including the night watch, having an eye to plunder, instead of putting out fires, kindled new ones. While such scenes were occurring at various points, a wind caught up the flames and carried them indiscriminately against all the buildings that were left. Consequently no one concerned himself any longer about goods or houses, but all the survivors, standing where they thought they were safe, gazed upon what appeared to be a number of scattered islands on fire or many cities all burning at the same time. There was no longer any grieving over personal losses, but they lamented the public calamity, recalling how once before most of the city had been thus laid waste by the Gauls. While the whole population was in this state of mind and many, crazed by the disaster, were leaping into the very flames, Nero ascended to the roof of the palace, from which there was the best general view of the greater part of the conflagration, and assuming the lyre-player's garb, he sang the "Capture of Troy," as he styled the song himself, though to the eyes of the spectators it was the Capture of Rome.

The calamity which the city then experienced has no parallel before or since, except in the Gallic invasion. The whole Palatine hill, the theatre of

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[1] τοῦ παλατίου R. Steph., τὰ παλάτια VC.

καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Ταύρου *τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως
τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀναρίθ-
3 μητοι διεφθάρησαν. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ
τι*[1] *οὐ κατὰ τοῦ* Νέρωνος *ἠρᾶτο, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπολέγων, ἄλλως δὲ δὴ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν
ἐμπρήσασι καταρώμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι αὐτοὺς
ἡ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου τοῦ*[2] *κατὰ τὸν* Τιβέριόν *ποτε
ᾀσθέντος ἐθορύβει. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο*

> "*τρὶς δὲ*[3] *τριηκοσίων*[4] *περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν*
> Ῥωμαίους *ἔμφυλος*[5] *ὀλεῖ στάσις.*"

4 *ἐπειδή τε ὁ* Νέρων *παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς
οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη εὑρέσθαι*[6] *ἔλεγε, μετα-
βαλόντες ἕτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ* Σιβύλλειον *ὄντως
ὂν ᾖδον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο*

> "*ἔσχατος* Αἰνεαδῶν *μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.*"

*καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντείᾳ
τινὶ προλεχθέν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου
πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν· τελευταῖος γὰρ τῶν*
Ἰουλίων *τῶν ἀπὸ* Αἰνείου *γενομένων ἐμονάρχησε.
5 χρήματα δὲ ὁ* Νέρων *παμπληθῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν
ἰδιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ ἐπὶ
τῇ προφάσει τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ'
ἑκόντων δῆθεν ἠργυρολόγησεν, καὶ τῶν* Ῥωμαίων
αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον παρεσπάσατο.—Xiph. 166,
17–169, 10 R. St.

[1] *ὅ τι* Reim., *ὅτε* VC.
[2] *τοῦ* supplied by H. Steph.
[3] *δὲ* R. Steph., *δὲ δὴ* V, *δὲ καὶ* C.
[4] *τριηκοσίων* C, *τριακυσίων* V.
[5] *ἔμφυλος* R. Steph., *ἐμφύλιος* VC.
[6] *εὑρέσθαι* Bs., *εὕρασθαι* VC.

Taurus, and nearly two-thirds of the remainder of the city were burned, and countless persons perished. There was no curse that the populace did not invoke upon Nero, though they did not mention his name, but simply cursed in general terms those who had set the city on fire. And they were disturbed above all by recalling the oracle which once in the time of Tiberius had been on everybody's lips.[1] It ran thus: A.D. 64

"Thrice three hundred years having run their course of fulfilment,
Rome by the strife of her people shall perish."

And when Nero, by way of encouraging them, reported that these verses could not be found anywhere, they dropped them and proceeded to repeat another oracle, which they averred to be a genuine Sibylline prophecy, namely:

"Last of the sons of Aeneas, a mother-slayer shall govern."

And so it proved, whether this verse was actually spoken beforehand by some divine prophecy, or the populace was now for the first time inspired, in view of the present situation, to utter it. For Nero was indeed the last emperor of the Julian line, the line descended from Aeneas. He now began to collect vast sums from private citizens as well as from whole communities, sometimes using compulsion, taking the conflagration as his pretext, and sometimes obtaining it by voluntary contributions, as they were made to appear. As for the Romans themselves, he deprived them of the free dole of grain.

[1] Cf. lvii. 18.

19 Πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἀγγελία ἐξ Ἀρμενίας
καὶ δάφνη ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὖθις ἦλθεν. ὁ γάρ
τοι Κορβούλων[1] συστήσας τε τὰ στρατιωτικὰ
ἐσκεδασμένα[2] καὶ ἀσκήσας ἠμελημένα, τόν τε
Οὐολόγαισον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων καὶ τὸν
Τιριδάτην[3] τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἡγούμενον καὶ
2 ἀγγελθεὶς μόνον ἐξεφόβησεν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ τοῖς
πρώτοις Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ γένει λαμπρὸς ἢ
τῷ σώματι ἰσχυρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτίφρων
ἦν, καὶ πολὺ μὲν τὸ ἀνδρεῖον πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ
δίκαιον τό τε πιστὸν ἐς πάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
3 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶχεν. ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ὁ
Νέρων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ
ἀπέστειλε, καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ ὅσην οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ
ἐπέτρεψε, πιστεύσας ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
αὐτὸν κατεργάσεσθαι[4] καὶ αὐτῷ[5] μὴ ἐπανα-
στήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐψεύσθη,
4 τοὺς μέντοι ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καθ' ἓν τοῦτο
μόνον ὁ Κορβούλων ἐλύπησεν, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς
τὸν Νέρωνα πίστιν ἐτήρησεν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν
αὐτοκράτορα ἀντ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἤθελον ὥστε
καὶ κακὸν τὸ μέρος τοῦτο γενέσθαι μόνον
ἠξίουν.—Xiph. 169, 10–25 R. St., Exc. Val. 247
(p. 689).

Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κορβούλων[6] ἀκονιτὶ τὰ Ἀρτάξατα
20 λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο
πρὸς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἤλασε, πάσης μὲν τῆς
τῶν ἐνδιδόντων σφᾶς χώρας φειδόμενος, πάντα
δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων πορθῶν, καὶ ἔλαβε καὶ

[1] Κορβούλων R. Steph., κορβούλλων V, κουρβούλλων C.
[2] ἐσκεδασμένα Sylb., ἐσκεδαννυσμένα VC.
[3] Τιριδάτην Dind., τηριδάτην VC.

While he was thus engaged he received tidings from Armenia accompanied by a laurel crown in honour of another victory there. For Corbulo, after uniting the bodies of soldiers that had been scattered and training them after a period of neglect, had then by the very report of his approach terrified both Vologaesus, the king of Parthia, and Tiridates, the Armenian leader. He resembled the early Romans in that, besides coming of a brilliant family and possessing great strength of body, he was still further gifted with a shrewd intelligence; and he displayed great bravery and great fairness and good faith towards all, both friends and enemies. For these reasons Nero had sent him to the war in his own stead and had entrusted to him a larger force than to anybody else, feeling equal confidence that this leader would subdue the barbarians and would not revolt against him. And Corbulo belied neither of these expectations, though he grieved everybody else in this one particular, that he kept faith with Nero; for people were so anxious to secure him as emperor in place of Nero that his conduct in this respect seemed to them his only defect. A.D. 64

Corbulo, accordingly, had taken Artaxata without a struggle and had razed the city to the ground. This exploit finished, he marched in the direction of Tigranocerta, sparing all the districts that yielded but devastating the lands of all such as resisted him. Tigranocerta submitted to him voluntarily. He

[4] κατεργάσεσθαι R. Steph., κατεργάτασ(αι VC cod. Peir.

[5] αὑτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC cod. Peir.

[6] Κορβούλων R. Steph., κορβούλλων V (so below), κου βούλων C (so below).

ἐκεῖνα ἐθελούσια· ἄλλα τε ἔπραξε λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπίδοξα, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τὸν Οὐολόγαισον, καίτοι φοβερὸν ὄντα, ἐς διαλλαγὰς ἁρμοζούσας τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀξιώματι ὑπηγάγετο.—Xiph. 169, 26–32 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Οὐολόγαισος[1] ἀκούσας ὡς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Νέρων ἄλλοις διένειμε καὶ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου πορθουμένην, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα[2] στρατεύσων ἡτοιμάζετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλέα Μονόβαζον καὶ Μοναίσην Πάρθον ἐς τὴν Ἀρμε-
3 νίαν ἔπεμψεν. οὗτοι δὲ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα καθεῖρξαν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ προσεδρείᾳ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐλύπουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁσάκις προσμίξειάν οἱ ἀπεκρούοντο καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀκριβῆ φρουρὰν τῆς Συρίας ἐποιήσατο, ἐγνωσιμάχησε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀφῆκε,
4 καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἀνοχῆς ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τῷ πρός τε τὸν Νέρωνα αὖθις πρεσβεύσασθαι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν λῦσαι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐξαγαγεῖν. Νέρων δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδὲ ταχὺ οὐδὲ σαφὲς[3] ἀπεκρίνατο, Λούκιον δὲ Καισέννιον Παῖτον[4] ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ὅπως μηδὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν νεοχμωθῇ, ἀπέστειλεν.—Exc. U[G] 38 (p. 391).

21 Ὅτι ὁ Οὐολόγαισος τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις προσέμιξε, καὶ τὸν Παῖτον ἐπιβοηθήσαντά σφισιν ἀπεώσατο, φεύγοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξας τήν τε ἐπὶ[5] τοῦ Ταύρου καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς Ῥάνδειαν πρὸς

also performed other brilliant and glorious deeds, A.D. 64
crowning them all by inducing the formidable Vologaesus to accept terms that accorded with the dignity of the Romans.

Vologaesus, on hearing that Nero had assigned Armenia to others and that Adiabene was being ravaged by Tigranes, made preparations to take the field himself against Corbulo, in Syria, and sent into Armenia Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and Monaeses, a Parthian. These two shut up Tigranes in Tigranocerta. But since they found that they could not harm him at all by their siege, but, on the contrary, as often as they tried conclusions with him, were repulsed by both the native troops and the Romans that were in his army, and since Corbulo guarded Syria with extreme care, Vologaesus swallowed his pride and abandoned the expedition. Then he sent to Corbulo and obtained a truce on condition that he should send a new embassy to Nero, raise the siege, and withdraw his soldiers from Armenia. Nero did not give him even then either a speedy or a definite reply, but despatched Lucius Caesennius Paetus to Cappadocia to see to it that there should be no uprising in the region of Armenia.

Vologaesus attacked Tigranocerta and drove back Paetus, who had come to its aid. When the latter fled, he pursued him, cut down the garrison left by Paetus at the Taurus, and shut him up in

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[1] Οὐολόγαισος Reim., βολόγαισος MSS. (so below).
[2] Κορβούλωνα Urs., κουρβούλωνα MSS. (so below).
[3] οὐδὲ τότε οὐδὲ ταχὺ οὐδὲ σαφὲς corrupt.
[4] δὲ Καισέννιον Παῖτον Reim., δὲ σένιον παῖτον A, δέσμιον παι . . . B, δὲ σένιον παῖδα τὸν M. [5] ἐπὶ V, ὑπὸ BM.

2 τῷ Ἀρσανίᾳ ποταμῷ οὖσαν κατέκλεισε. κἂν ἀπανέστη μηδὲν περάνας (οὔτε[1] γὰρ πελάσαι πῃ[2] τῷ ἐρύματι ἅτε χωρὶς ὁπλιτῶν ὢν ἐδύνατο, οὔτε τῆς τροφῆς, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλήθει πολλῷ ἄνευ παρασκευῆς σιτίων ἀφιγμένος, εὐπόρει), εἰ μὴ ὁ Παῖτος τήν τε τοξείαν αὐτοῦ[3] καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνουμένην καὶ τὴν ἵππον πανταχοῦ φαινομένην δείσας λόγους τε ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ ὡμολόγησε, καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτός[4] τε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἅπασαν ἐκλείψειν καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα τῷ Τιριδάτῃ αὐτὴν δώσειν.
3 ἀγαπήσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος ὡς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπονητὶ ληψόμενος καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μεγάλην καταθησόμενος, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα, ὃν ὁ Παῖτος πρὶν περιστοιχισθῆναι μετεπέμπετο, πλησιάζειν πυθόμενος,
4 ἀφῆκεν αὐτούς, προδιομολογησάμενος ἵνα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῷ Ἀρσανίαν ζεύξωσιν, οὐχ ὅτι γεφύρας ἐδεῖτο (πεζῇ γὰρ αὐτὸν διεληλύθει), ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐνδείξηταί σφισιν ὅτι κρείττων αὐτῶν ἦν. ἀμέλει οὐδὲ τότε διὰ τοῦ ζεύγματος ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον.

22 Ἄρτι τε ἡ ὁμολογία ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθ' ὑπέμεινεν. ὅτε δ' οὖν συνεγένοντο[5] ἀλλήλοις, πλεῖστον ἄν τις τὸ διάφορον τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, τῶν μὲν χαιρόντων τε καὶ

[1] οὔτε Bk., μήτε MSS. [2] πῃ VB, ἐπὶ M.
[3] αὐτοῦ Urs., αὐτῷ MSS. [4] αὐτός Urs., αὐτούς MSS.
[5] συνεγένοντο Reim., συνείγνυντο V, συνείγνοντο B, συνέγνοντο M.

Rhandea, near the river Arsanias. Then he was on A.D. 64 the point of retiring without accomplishing anything; for, destitute as he was of heavy-armed soldiers, he could not approach close to the wall, and he had no large stock of provisions, particularly as he had come at the head of a vast host without making arrangements for his food supply. But Paetus stood in fear of his archery, which took effect in the very camp itself, as well as of his cavalry, which kept appearing at all points, and accordingly sent to him proposals for a truce, accepted his terms, and took an oath that he would himself abandon the whole of Armenia and that Nero should give it to Tiridates. The Parthian was glad enough to make this agreement, seeing that he was to obtain control of the country without a contest and would be making the Romans his debtors for a very considerable kindness. And, as he also learned that Corbulo (whom Paetus had repeatedly sent for before he was surrounded) was drawing near, he dismissed the beleaguered Romans, having first made them agree to build a bridge over the river Arsanias for him. He did not really need a bridge, for he had crossed on foot, but he wished to show them that he was their superior. At any rate, he did not retire by way of the bridge even on this occasion, but rode across on an elephant, while the rest got over as before.

The capitulation had scarcely been made when Corbulo with inconceivable swiftness reached the Euphrates and there waited for the retreating force. When the two forces met, the vast difference between the troops and their generals would have struck the attention of anybody: the former were

λαμπρυνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ, τῶν δὲ λυπουμένων τε καὶ αἰσχυνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ,
2 κατενόησεν. ὁ δὲ Οὐολόγαισος Μοναίσην πρὸς Κορβούλωνα πέμψας ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν τὸ ἔρυμα τὸ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐκλιπεῖν· καὶ διελέχθησαν ἐκεῖνοι πολλὰ ἀλλήλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου
3 γεφύρᾳ, τὸ μέσον αὐτῆς λύσαντες. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πάρθος τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκλείπῃ, ἑκάτερον ἐγένετο, μέχρι οὗ ὁ Νέρων τὰ πραχθέντα πυθόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου, οὓς αὖθις ἔπεμψε, χρηματίσας, τούτοις[1] μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν Ἀρμενίαν δώσειν[2] τῷ Τιριδάτῃ,
4 ἂν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέλθῃ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Παῖτον τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσας, τούς τε στρατιώτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ γενομένους ἄλλοσέ ποι πέμψας, τὸν Κορβούλωνα αὖθις τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν[3] πολέμῳ προσέταξεν. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς συστρατεῦσαι,[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ θύων ἔπεσεν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐξορμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔμεινεν.—Exc. U[R] 12 (p. 392).

23 Ὅτι ὁ Κορβούλων ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ τὸν πρὸς Οὐολόγαισον πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ πέμψας ἑκατοντάρχην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς χώρας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευέν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψαι, καὶ ἔπεισεν, ἐπειδὴ κρείττων
2 αὐτοῦ τῇ δυνάμει ἐδόκει εἶναι. συνῆλθον οὖν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥανδείᾳ ὅ τε Κορβούλων καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἀμφοτέροις ἤρεσε, τῷ μὲν ὅτι ἀπολαβόντες ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑποσπόνδους

[1] τούτοις Urs., τούτους MSS.

rejoicing and exulting in their speed, the latter A.D. 64 were grieved and ashamed of the compact that had been made. Vologaesus sent Monaeses to Corbulo with the demand that he abandon the fort in Mesopotamia. So these two held a prolonged conference together on the very bridge over the Euphrates, after first destroying the centre of the structure. Corbulo agreed to quit the country if the Parthian would also abandon Armenia, and both of these stipulations were carried out provisionally, until Nero could learn of the engagements made and receive the second embassy that Vologaesus sent. The answer given them by the emperor was that he would bestow Armenia upon Tiridates if that prince would come to Rome. Paetus was deposed from his command and the soldiers that had been with him were sent elsewhere, but Corbulo was again assigned to the war against the same foes. Nero had intended to accompany the expedition in person, but he fell while performing a sacrifice, so that he did not venture to set out, but remained at home.

Corbulo, therefore, was officially preparing for war upon Vologaesus and sent a centurion bidding him depart from the country; but privately he was advising the king to send his brother to Rome, a suggestion that the other followed, since Corbulo seemed to have the stronger force. Accordingly, Corbulo and Tiridates held a conference at Rhandea, a place satisfactory to both—to the king because his troops had there cut off the Romans and had sent

[2] δώσειν supplied by Urs.
[3] αὐτῶν Urs., αὐτὴν MSS.
[4] συστρατεῦσαι Urs., εὖ στρατεῦσαι MSS.

ἀφῆκαν, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ὧν εὐηργέτηντο, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν δύσκλειαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πρότερον συμβᾶσάν
3 σφισιν ἀποτρίψεσθαι ἔμελλον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁπλῶς λόγους τινὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἠγέρθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰκόνες τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐστάθησαν, ὅ τε Τιριδάτης πολλῶν μὲν Ἀρμενίων πολλῶν δὲ Πάρθων καὶ Ῥωμαίων παρόντων προσῆλθέ τε αὐταῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν, θύσας τε καὶ ἐπευφημήσας τὸ διάδημα ἀπό τε τῆς κεφαλῆς
4 ἀφεῖλε καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐταῖς· καὶ ὁ Μονόβαζος καὶ ὁ Οὐολόγαισος πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἦλθον καὶ ὁμήρους αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Νέρων αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις ἐπεκλήθη, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον.—Exc. U^G 39 (p. 391).

5 Κορβούλων μὲν οὖν, καίτοι καὶ ἰσχὺν μεγάλην καὶ δόξαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ῥᾷστα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ τε Νέρωνι δεινῶς ἀχθομένων καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως θαυμαζόντων, ἀποδειχθῆναι,
6 οὔτε ἐνεωτέρισέ τι οὔτε ᾐτιάθη. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα[1] ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμετρίαζε, καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Ἄννιον ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν Τιριδάτην ἀνάξοντα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐφ' ὁμηρείᾳ τῷ Νέρωνι ἑκὼν ἔπεμψεν. οὕτω γάρ που ἐπεπίστευτο μηδὲν νεοχμώσειν ὥστε καὶ τὸν γαμβρόν, καὶ πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, ὕπαρχον[2] λαβεῖν.—Xiph. 169, 32–170, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 248 (p. 689 f.).

27, 2 Ὅτι Ἰούνιος Τορκουᾶτος, ἀπόγονος τοῦ

[1] τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα cod. Peir., ἀλλ' VC.

them away under a capitulation, a visible proof of the favour that had been done them, and to Corbulo because he expected his men to wipe out the ill repute that had attached to them there before. Indeed, the proceedings of the conference were not limited to mere conversations, but a lofty platform had been erected on which were set images of Nero, and in the presence of crowds of Armenians, Parthians, and Romans Tiridates approached and paid them reverence; then, after sacrificing to them and calling them by laudatory names, he took off the diadem from his head and set it upon them. Monobazus and Vologaesus also came to Corbulo and gave him hostages. In honour of this event Nero was saluted as *imperator* a number of times and held a triumph, contrary to precedent. A.D. 64

Corbulo, then, though he had a large force under him and enjoyed no small reputation, so that he might easily have been made emperor (since men thoroughly detested Nero, but all admired him in every way), neither headed any rebellion nor was accused of doing so. In fact, he now conducted himself more prudently than ever. For example, he voluntarily sent to Rome his son-in-law Annius, who was acting as his lieutenant; this was done with the ostensible purpose that Annius might escort Tiridates thither, but actually in order to put a hostage in Nero's hands. To be sure, the emperor had been so firmly persuaded that his general would not revolt, that Corbulo had obtained his son-in-law, even before he had been praetor, as lieutenant.

Junius Torquatus, a descendant of Augustus, was

[2] ὕπαρχον Bs., ὕπατον cod. Peir.

Αὐγούστου ὤν, ἐπὶ[1] θαυμαστῷ δή[2] τινι ἐγκλήματι παρεδόθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσωτότερον τῇ οὐσίᾳ, εἴτε ἐκ φύσεως εἴτε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ὅπως μὴ πάνυ πλουτοίη, κατεχρήσατο, τῶν τε ἀλλοτρίων αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενον ὁ Νέρων ἔφη, κἀκ τούτου ὡς καὶ[3] τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς ἐφιέμενον συκοφαντηθῆναι ἐποίησεν.—Exc. Val. 249 (p. 690).

24 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ ἔπαρχος ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐπεβούλευσαν τῷ Νέρωνι· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην οὔτε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν οὔτε τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ ἔτι φέρειν ἐδύναντο. αὐτοί τε οὖν ἅμα τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι κἀκεῖνον ἐλευθερῶσαι ἠθέλησαν, ὥσπερ ἄντικρυς Σουλπίκιός τε Ἄσπρος[4] ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ Σούβριος Φλάουιος[5] χιλίαρχος, ἐκ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Νέρωνα
2 ὡμολόγησαν. ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἶπεν ὅτι "ἄλλως σοι βοηθῆσαι οὐκ ἐδυνάμην," καὶ ὁ Φλάουιος "καὶ ἐφίλησά σε" εἶπε "παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμίσησα. ἐφίλησα μὲν ἐλπίσας ἀγαθὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἔσεσθαι, ἐμίσησα δὲ ὅτι τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἁρματηλάτῃ οὔτε κιθαρῳδῷ δουλεύειν δύναμαι." μηνύσεως οὖν γενομένης οὗτοί τε
3 ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτοὺς πολλοί. πᾶν γὰρ ὅ τι τις ἐγκαλέσαι τῳ ἐκ περιχαρείας καὶ λύπης ῥημάτων τε καὶ νευμάτων οἷός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπεφέρετο καὶ ἐπιστεύετο· οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, εἰ καὶ ἐπέπλαστο, ἀπιστεῖσθαι διὰ

[1] ἐπὶ supplied by Bs. [2] δὴ Val., δὲ cod. Peir.

handed over for punishment on a remarkable charge. A.D. 64
He had squandered his property rather prodigally, whether following his native bent or with the deliberate intention of not being very rich. Nero therefore declared that, as he lacked many things, he must be covetous of the goods of others, and consequently caused a fictitious charge to be brought against him of aspiring to the imperial power.

Seneca, however, and Rufus, the prefect, and some A.D. 65
other prominent men formed a plot against Nero; for they could no longer endure his disgraceful behaviour, his licentiousness, and his cruelty. They desired, therefore, to rid themselves of these evils and at the same time to free Nero from them—as, indeed, Sulpicius Asper, a centurion, and Subrius Flavius, a military tribune, both belonging to the body-guards, admitted outright to Nero himself. Asper, when asked by the emperor the reason for his attempt, replied: "I could help you in no other way." And the response of Flavius was: "I have both loved and hated you above all men. I loved you, hoping that you would prove a good emperor; I have hated you because you do so-and-so. I can not be slave to a charioteer or lyre-player." Information was lodged against these men, then, and they were punished, and many others likewise on their account. For everything in the nature of a complaint that could be entertained against anyone for excessive joy or grief, for words or gestures, was brought forward and was believed; and not one of these complaints, even if fictitious, could be refused

[3] ὡς καὶ Dind., ὡς Bk., καὶ VC.
[4] Ἄσπρος exc. Vat., ἄπρως VC.
[5] Φλάουιος Bk., φλάβιος VC exc. Vat.

τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἔργων ἐδύνατο.[1]
4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οἵ τε φίλοι οἱ
πονηροὶ καὶ οἰκέται τινῶν ἤνθησαν· τοὺς μὲν
γὰρ ἀλλοτρίους τούς τε ἐχθροὺς ὑποπτεύον-
τες ἐφυλάσσοντο, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς συνόντας καὶ
ἄκοντες ἐγυμνοῦντο.

25 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων
πολὺ ἔργον εἰπεῖν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας ἠθέλησε μὲν
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Παυλῖναν ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγων
πεπεικέναι αὐτὴν τοῦ τε θανάτου καταφρονῆσαι
καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ μεταλλαγῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ
2 ἔσχασε[2] καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης[3] φλέβας, δυσθανατήσας
δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἐπειχθεὶς προαπηλλάγη αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως
ἡ Παυλῖνα περιεγένετο. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον
ἑαυτοῦ[4] ἥψατο πρὶν τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συν-
έγραφεν ἐπανορθῶσαι καὶ τἆλλα (ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ
καὶ ἐς τὸν Νέρωνα ἐλθόντα φθαρῇ) παρακατα-
3 θέσθαι τισίν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε,
καίπερ τήν τε συνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ
ἀσθενῶν προειμένος,[5] καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν οὐσίαν
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκοδομουμένων προφάσει κεχαρισ-
μένος, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὕστερον ἐπαπώλοντο.

26 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Θρασέας καὶ ὁ Σωρανός, καὶ γένους
καὶ πλούτου τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς ἐς[6] τὰ
πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες, ἐπιβουλῆς μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔσχον,

[1] ἐδύνατο H. Steph. (ἠδύνατο), ἠδύναντο VC.
[2] ἔσχασε Bk., ἔσχισε VC.
[3] ἐκείνης Sylb., ἐκείνου VC.
[4] ἑαυτοῦ Rk., ἑαυτῆς VC.
[5] προειμένος Bk., προ . . ιομ . . V[1], προφερόμενος V[2], προ . . . . . C.
[6] ἐς supplied by H. Steph.

credence in view of Nero's actual deeds. Hence faithless friends and house servants of some men flourished exceedingly; for, whereas persons were naturally on their guard against strangers and foes, by reason of their suspicions, they were bound to lay bare their thoughts to their associates whether they would or not. A.D. 65

It would be no small task to speak of all the others that perished, but the fate of Seneca calls for a few words. It was his wish to end the life of his wife Paulina at the same time with his own, for he declared that he had taught her both to despise death and to desire to leave the world in company with him. So he opened her veins as well as his own. But as he died hard, his end was hastened by the soldiers; and she was still alive when he passed away, and thus survived. He did not lay hands upon himself, however, until he had revised the book which he was writing[1] and had deposited his other books with some friends, fearing that they would otherwise fall into Nero's hands and be destroyed. Thus died Seneca, notwithstanding that he had on the pretext of illness abandoned the society of the emperor and had bestowed upon him his entire property, ostensibly to help to pay for the buildings he was constructing. His brothers, too, perished after him.

Likewise Thrasea and Soranus, who were among the foremost in family, wealth, and every virtue, met their death, not because they were accused of

[1] Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 63) describes Seneca as dictating in his very last moments words that were later published, but he does not identify them.

ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τότε,[1] *ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦ γε Σωρανοῦ Πούπλιος Ἐγνάτιος*[2] *Κέλερ*
2 *φιλόσοφος κατεψευδομαρτύρησε. δύο γὰρ ἀνδρῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ, Κασσίου*[3] *τε Ἀσκληπιοδότου Νικαέως καὶ ἐκείνου Βηρυτίου, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιόδοτος οὐχ ὅπως κατεῖπέ τι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον καλοκἀγαθίαν οἱ προσεμαρτύρησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Γάλβου κατήχθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Πούπλιος ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ συκοφαντίᾳ καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἔλαβε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιήσαντες, μετὰ δὲ*
3 *τοῦτο ἐξωρίσθη. Σωρανὸς μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγεύματί τινι διὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς κεχρημένος, ἐπειδὴ νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ ἐθύσαντο, ἐσφάγη, Θρασέας δὲ ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνεχῶς ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἀπήντα, οὔτ' ἤκουσέ ποτε αὐτοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦντος, οὔτε ἔθυσε τῇ ἱερᾷ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι,*
4 *οὔτε ἐπεδείξατο οὐδέν, καίτοι ἐν Παταουίῳ*[4] *τῇ πατρίδι τραγῳδίαν κατά τι πάτριον ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι τριακονταετηρίδι ὑποκρινάμενος. ἐντεμὼν οὖν τὴν φλέβα ἀνέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἔφη "σοὶ τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα, ὦ Ζεῦ Ἐλευθέριε, σπένδω."*

27, 1 *Καὶ τί ἄν τις θαυμάσειεν*[5] *εἰ τοιαῦτα . . .*[6] *ἐπήχθη, ὁπότε τις, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ ᾤκει*[7] *καὶ ἐργαστήρια ἐξεμίσθου ἢ καὶ φίλους τινὰς εἰς*

[1] *τότε* Reim., *πότε* V, *ποτὲ* C.
[2] *Ἐγνάτιος* R. Steph., *ἀεγνάτιος* C, *αἰγνάτιος* V.
[3] *Κασσίου* Reim., *κασπίου* VC.
[4] *Παταουίῳ* Xyl. (*παταβίῳ*), *ποταμία* VC.
[5] *θαυμάσειεν* St., *θαυμάσοι* VC.
[6] Space of about 7 letters left in V, of about 10 in C; *αὐτοῖς* supplied by Reim., *αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήματα* Bs.

conspiracy, but because they were what they were. A.D. 65 Against Soranus, Publius Egnatius Celer, a philosopher, gave false evidence. The accused had had two associates, Cassius Asclepiodotus of Nicaea and this Egnatius of Berytus. Now Asclepiodotus, so far from speaking against Soranus, actually bore witness to his noble qualities; and for this he was exiled at the time, though later restored under Galba. Publius, in return for his false charges, received money and honours, as did others of the same profession; but subsequently he was banished. Soranus, then, was slain on the charge of having practised a kind of magic through the agency of his daughter, the foundation for this story being that when Nero was sick they had offered a certain sacrifice. Thrasea was executed because he failed to appear regularly in the senate,—thus showing that he did not like the measures passed,—and because he never would listen to the emperor's singing and lyre-playing, nor sacrifice to Nero's Divine Voice as did the rest, nor give any public exhibitions; yet it was remarked that at Patavium, his native place, he had acted in a tragedy given in pursuance of some old custom at a festival held every thirty years. As he made the incision in his artery, he raised his hand, exclaiming: "To thee, Jupiter, Patron of Freedom, I pour this libation of blood."

And why should one be surprised that such [complaints] were brought [against them], seeing that one man[1] was brought to trial and slain for living near

[1] Salvidienus Orfitus (according to Suetonius, *Nero*, 37).

[7] ᾤκει C, space of 4 letters left in V.

*αὐτὰ ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ἄλλος, ὅτι τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ
τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείναντος εἰκόνα εἶχε, καὶ
ἐκρίθησαν καὶ ἐφονεύθησαν ;*
3 *Ἄξιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ γυναικός τινος Ἐπιχά-
ριτος· αὕτη γὰρ ἔν τε τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ ἐξετασθεῖσα
καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς πιστευθεῖσα οὐδὲν*[1]
τὸ παράπαν, καίπερ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς Τιγελ-
4 *λίνου δεινότητος βασανισθεῖσα, ἐξέφηνε. τί δ'
ἄν τις καταλέγοι ὅσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ταύτῃ ἢ
τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐδόθη ἢ τῷ τε Νέρωνι καὶ τοῖς
αὐτοῦ φίλοις ὑπέρογκα ἐψηφίσθη ; Ῥοῦφος μέν-
τοι Μουσώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφυγα-
δεύθη.*—Xiph. 170, 4–172, 1 R. St.

Καὶ ἡ Σαβῖνα[2] *ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος τότε ἀπέθανε·
κυούσῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ λάξ, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε καὶ*[3] *ἄκων,*
28 *ἐνέθορεν.*[4] *ἡ δὲ δὴ Σαβῖνα αὕτη οὕτως ὑπερετρύ-
φησεν (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν βραχυτάτων πᾶν δηλω-
θήσεται) ὥστε τάς τε ἡμιόνους τὰς ἀγούσας
αὐτὴν ἐπίχρυσα σπαρτία ὑποδεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄνους
πεντακοσίας ἀρτιτόκους καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμέλγεσθαι,
ἵν' ἐν τῷ γάλακτι αὐτῶν λούηται· τήν τε γὰρ
ὥραν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ σώματος ἰσχυρῶς*[5]
*ἐσπουδάκει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ ποτε
αὐτὴν ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἰδοῦσα ηὔξατο τελευτῆσαι*
2 *πρὶν παρηβῆσαι. καὶ οὕτω γε αὐτὴν ὁ Νέρων
ἐπόθησεν ὥστε μετὰ τὸν*[6] *θάνατον αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα γυναῖκά τινα προσφερῆ οἱ μαθὼν οὖσαν
μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἔσχεν, ἔπειτα καὶ παῖδα ἀπε-*

[1] *οὐδὲν* H. Steph., *οὐδὲ* VC.
[2] *Σαβῖνα* Reim., *σαβίνη* VC.
[3] *καὶ* V, om. C.
[4] *ἐνέθορεν* Zon., *ἀνέθορεν* VC.

the Forum, and letting out some shops or for receiving a few friends in them; and another[1] because he possessed an image of Cassius, the slayer of Caesar? A.D. 65

The conduct of a woman named Epicharis also deserves mention. She had been included in the conspiracy and all its details had been entrusted to her without reserve; yet she revealed none of them, though often tortured in all the ways that the skill of Tigellinus could devise. And why should one enumerate the sums given to the Praetorians on the occasion of this conspiracy or the excessive honours voted to Nero and his friends? Suffice it to say that Rufus Musonius, the philosopher, was banished for his connexion with these events.

Sabina also perished at this time through an act of Nero's; either accidentally or intentionally he had leaped upon her with his feet while she was pregnant. The extremes of luxury indulged in by this Sabina I will indicate in the briefest terms. She caused gilded shoes to be put on the mules that drew her and caused five hundred asses that had recently foaled to be milked daily that she might bathe in their milk. For she bestowed the greatest pains on the beauty and brilliancy of her person, and this is why, when she noticed in a mirror one day that her appearance was not comely, she prayed that she might die before she passed her prime. Nero missed her so greatly after her death that on learning of a woman who resembled her he at first sent for her and kept her; but later he caused a boy

[1] C. Cassius Longinus (*ibid.*).

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[5] ἰσχυρῶς Reim., λαμπρῶς VC.
[6] τὸν supplied by Bk. (?).

λεύθερον, ὃν Σπόρον ὠνόμαζεν, ἐκτεμών, ἐπειδὴ
3 καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ Σαβίνῃ προσεῴκει, τά τε ἄλλα ὡς γυναικὶ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆτο καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἔγημεν αὐτόν, καίπερ Πυθαγόρᾳ τινὶ ἐξελευθέρῳ[1] γεγαμημένος, καὶ προῖκα αὐτῷ κατὰ συγγραφὴν ἔνειμε,[2] καὶ τοὺς γάμους σφῶν δημοσίᾳ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἑώρτασαν.—Xiph. 172, 1–15 R. St., Exc. Val. 250ᵃ (p. 690).

3ᵃ Ὅτι τὸν Σπόρον τὸν ἐκτομίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος ὡς γυναῖκα εἷς τις τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν παρεσκευασμένος, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀρέσκεται τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τῷ συνοικεσίῳ, "εὖ γε" ἔφη "ποιεῖς, ὦ Καῖσαρ, τοιαύταις συνοικῶν. αἴθε καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον ἔσχεν καὶ τοιαύτῃ συνῴκησε γαμετῇ," δεικνὺς ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν οὗτος ἐτέχθη καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν ἠλευθεροῦτο ἡ πολιτεία.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 63 (p. 213 Mai. = p. 195, 1–9 Dind.).

4 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ πολλοὶ μέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐθανατώθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ Τιγελλίνου ἐκπριάμενοι ἀπελύθησαν.—Xiph. 172, 15–18 R. St., Exc. Val. 250ᵇ (p. 690).

29 Ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἄλλα τε γελοῖα ἔπραττε, καί ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ὀρχήστραν ἐν πανδήμῳ τινὶ θέᾳ κατέβη καὶ ἀνέγνω Τρωϊκά τινα ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θυσίαι πολλαί, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἷς ἔπραττεν, ἐγένοντο.
2 παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἁπάσας συγγράψων ἐν ἔπεσιν, καὶ περί[3] γε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βιβλίων, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν συνθεῖναι, ἐσκέψατο, παραλαβὼν ἄλλους

of the freedmen, whom he used to call Sporus, to be castrated, since he, too, resembled Sabina, and he used him in every way like a wife. In due time, though already "married" to Pythagoras, a freedman, he formally "married" Sporus, and assigned the boy a regular dowry according to contract; and the Romans as well as others publicly celebrated their wedding. A.D. 65

While Nero had Sporus, the eunuch, as a wife, one of his associates in Rome, who had made a study of philosophy, on being asked whether the marriage and cohabitation in question met with his approval, replied: "You do well, Caesar, to seek the company of such wives. Would that your father had had the same ambition and had lived with a similar consort!" —indicating that if this had been the case, Nero would not have been born, and the state would now be free of great evils.

This, however, was later. At the time with which we are concerned many, as I stated, were put to death, and many others, purchasing their lives from Tigellinus for a great price, were released.

Nero continued to do many ridiculous things. Thus, on the occasion of a certain popular festival, he descended to the orchestra of the theatre, where he read some Trojan lays of his own; and in honour of these, numerous sacrifices were offered, as was the case with everything else that he did. He was now making preparations to write an epic narrating all the achievements of the Romans; and even before composing a line of it he began to consider the proper number of books, consulting among others

[1] ἐξελευθέρῳ VC Zon., ἐξελευθέρων cod. Peir.
[2] ἔνειμε VC, ἔδωκε cod. Peir.
[3] καὶ περὶ H. Steph., καίπερ VC.

τε καὶ Ἀνναῖον[1] Κορνοῦτον εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε
3 ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ. καὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐς νῆσον δ' οὖν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅτι τινῶν τετρακόσια ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν βιβλία[2] γράψαι, πολλά τε αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔφη καὶ μηδένα αὐτὰ ἀναγνώσεσθαι, καί τινος εἰπόντος "καὶ μὴν Χρύσιππος, ὃν ἐπαινεῖς καὶ ζηλοῖς, πολὺ πλείω συνέθηκεν" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα χρήσιμα
4 τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ ἐστίν." ὁ μὲν οὖν Κορνοῦτος φυγὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὦφλεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λουκανὸς[3] ἐκωλύθη ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ[4] τῇ ποιήσει ἐπῃνεῖτο.

LXIII Ἐπὶ δὲ Γαΐου Τελεσίνου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουητωνίου[5]
1, 1 Παυλίνου ὑπάτων εὐδοξότατόν τε ἅμα ἔργον καὶ ἕτερον αἴσχιστον ἐγένετο. ὅ τε γὰρ Νέρων ἐν τοῖς κιθαρῳδοῖς ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ νικητήρια αὐτῷ Μενεκράτους[6] τοῦ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας διδασκάλου
2 ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ποιήσαντος ἡνιόχησε. καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου τοῦ τε Πακόρου καὶ τοῦ Μονοβάζου ἄγων, ἀνήχθη, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πομπὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
2 Εὐφράτου γῆς ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ Τιριδάτης καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ κάλλει καὶ γένει καὶ φρονήματι ἤνθει, καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἥ τε παρασκευὴ ἡ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνηκολούθει, τρισχίλιοί τε ἱππεῖς τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χωρὶς
2 ἕτεροι Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ συνείποντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἵ τε πόλεις λαμπρῶς κεκοσμημέναι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι

[1] Ἀνναῖον H. Steph., ἀναῖον VC, ἀννέας exc. Vat.
[2] τετρακόσια—βιβλία Sylb., τετρακοσίων—βιβλίων VC.
[3] Λουκανὸς R. Steph., λουκιανὸς VC.

Annaeus Cornutus, who at this time was famed for his learning. This man he came very near putting to death and did deport to an island, because, while some were urging him to write four hundred books, Cornutus said that this was too many and nobody would read them. And when someone objected, "Yet Chrysippus, whom you praise and imitate, composed many more," the other retorted: "But they are a help to the conduct of men's lives." So Cornutus incurred banishment for this. Lucan, on the other hand, was debarred from writing poetry because he was receiving high praise for his work. A.D. 65

In the consulship of Gaius Telesinus and Suetonius Paulinus one event of great glory and another of deep disgrace took place. For one thing, Nero contended among the lyre-players, and after Menecrates, the teacher of this art, had celebrated a triumph for him in the Circus, he appeared as a charioteer. On the other hand, Tiridates presented himself in Rome, bringing with him not only his own sons but also those of Vologaesus, of Pacorus, and of Monobazus. Their progress all the way from the Euphrates was like a triumphal procession. Tiridates himself was at the height of his reputation by reason of his age, beauty, family and intelligence; and his whole retinue of servants together with all his royal paraphernalia accompanied him. Three thousand Parthian horsemen and numerous Romans besides followed in his train. They were received by gaily decorated cities and by peoples who shouted A.D. 66

[4] ἐπὶ H. Steph. ὑπὸ VC.
[5] Σουητωνίου Bk., σουτωνίου V, σουτωνίου or σωντωνίου C.
[6] Μενεκράτους Reim., μὲν ἐκρότουν VC.

πολλὰ καὶ χαρίεντα ἀναβοῶντες ὑπεδέχοντο· τι τε ἐπιτήδεια πάντα προῖκα εἶχον, ὥστε εἴκοσ μυριάδας τὸ ἡμερήσιον ἀνάλωμα τῷ δημοσίῳ λογισθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐννέα μῆνας, οἷς
3 ὡδοιπόρησαν, ὁμοίως ἐγένετο. ἵππευσε δὲ πανταχῇ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ συμπαρίππευε, κράνος χρυσοῦν ἀντὶ καλύπτρας ἔχουσα, ὥστε μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι παρὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἐι δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ζεύγεσι πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐκομίσθη, καὶ διὰ Πικεντῶν ἐς Νέαν
4 πόλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἀκινάκην, ὅτε προσῄει αὐτῷ, καταθέσθαι καίπερ κελευσθεὶς ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἥλοις αὐτὸν τῷ κολεῷ προσέπηξε, καίτοι καὶ ἐς γῆν τὸ γόνυ καθεὶς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαλλάξας, δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν ὀνο-
3 μάσας καὶ προσκυνήσας. ὁ οὖν Νέρων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ αὐτὸν θαυμάσας τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ μονομαχίας ἐν Πουτεόλοις[1] ἔθετο. ἠγωνοθέτησε δὲ Πατρόβιος ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ ἐχρήσατο ὥστε ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ μηδένα ἄλλον πλὴν Αἰθιόπων, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων,
2 ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσελθεῖν. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ τῷ Πατροβίῳ τιμήν τινα διὰ ταῦτα γενέσθαι, ἐτόξευσεν ὁ Τιριδάτης ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας θηρία, καὶ δύο γε ταύρους μιᾷ ἅμα βολῇ, εἴ γέ τῳ πιστόν, διέτρωσε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων ἀνήγαγε καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε. καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ φωσὶ καὶ στεφανώμασιν, οἵ τε ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ πανταχοῦ

[1] Πουτεόλοις R. Steph., ποτόλοις VC.

many compliments. Provisions were furnished A.D. 66 them free of cost, a daily expenditure of 800,000 sesterces for their support being thus charged to the public treasury. This went on without change for the nine months occupied in their journey. The prince covered the whole distance to the confines of Italy on horseback, and beside him rode his wife, wearing a golden helmet in place of a veil, so as not to defy the traditions of her country by letting her face be seen. In Italy he was conveyed in a two-horse carriage sent by Nero, and met the emperor at Neapolis, which he reached by way of Picenum.[1] He refused, however, to obey the order to lay aside his dagger when he approached the emperor, but fastened it to the scabbard with nails. Yet he knelt upon the ground, and with arms crossed called him master and did obeisance. Nero admired him for this action and entertained him in many ways, especially by giving a gladiatorial exhibition at Puteoli. It was under the direction of Patrobius, one of his freedmen, who managed to make it a most brilliant and costly affair, as may be seen from the fact that on one of the days not a person but Ethiopians—men, women, and children—appeared in the theatre. By way of showing Patrobius some fitting honour Tiridates shot at wild beasts from his elevated seat, and—if one can believe it—transfixed and killed two bulls with a single arrow.

After this event Nero took him up to Rome and set the diadem upon his head. The entire city had been decorated with lights and garlands, and great crowds of people were to be seen everywhere, the

[1] Cf. ch. 7, 1 *inf.*

2 ἑωρῶντο, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἐπεπλήρωτο· το
μὲν γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος λευχειμονῶν καὶ
δαφνηφορῶν κατὰ τέλη εἶχε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οἱ
στρατιῶται λαμπρότατα ὡπλισμένοι, ὥστε καὶ
τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀστράπτειν. οἵ
τε κέραμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων τῶν τῇδε οἰκο-
δομημάτων ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων.
3 τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐκ νυκτὸς προπαρασκευασθέντων
ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ Νέρων ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐνδεδυκώς, σύν τε τῇ
βουλῇ καὶ σὺν[1] τοῖς δορυφόροις, καὶ ἐπί τε τὸ
βῆμα ἀνέβη καὶ ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἐκαθέζετο.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὅ τε Τιριδάτης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ
διά τε στοίχων ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν παρατε-
ταγμένων διῆλθον καὶ πρὸς τῷ βήματι προσ-
στάντες[2] προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότε-
5 ρον. κραυγῆς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῆς συμβάσης[3]
ἐξεπλάγη τε ὁ Τιριδάτης, καὶ ἄφωνος χρόνον
τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος ἐγένετο. ἔπειτα σιωπῆς
κηρυχθείσης ἐπεθάρρησέ τε, καὶ ἐκβιασάμενος τὸ
φρόνημα τῷ τε καιρῷ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ ἐδούλευσε,
μηδὲν φροντίσας εἴ τι ταπεινὸν φθέγξαιτο, πρὸς
2 τὴν ἐλπίδα ὧν τεύξοιτο.[4] εἶπε γὰρ οὕτως· "ἐγώ,
δέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἔκγονος, Οὐολογαίσου δὲ
καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφός, σὸς δὲ
δοῦλός εἰμι. καὶ ἦλθόν τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐμὸν
θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ
ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς· σὺ γάρ μοι
3 καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη." ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἠμείψατο
αὐτὸν ὧδε· "ἀλλ' εὖ τοι ἐποίησας αὐτὸς δεῦρο

[1] σὺν C, om. V.
[2] προσστάντες R. Steph., προστάντες VC.

Forum, however, being especially full. The centre was occupied by the civilians, arranged according to rank, clad in white and carrying laurel branches; everywhere else were the soldiers, arrayed in shining armour, their weapons and standards flashing like the lightning. The very roof-tiles of all the buildings in the vicinity were completely hidden from view by the spectators who had climbed to the roofs. Everything had been thus got ready during the night; and at daybreak Nero, wearing the triumphal garb and accompanied by the senate and the Praetorians, entered the Forum. He ascended the rostra and seated himself upon a chair of state. Next Tiridates and his suite passed between lines of heavy-armed troops drawn up on either side, took their stand close to the rostra, and did obeisance to the emperor as they had done before. At this a great roar went up, which so alarmed Tiridates that for some moments he stood speechless, in terror of his life. Then, silence having been proclaimed, he recovered courage and quelling his pride made himself subservient to the occasion and to his need, caring little how humbly he spoke, in view of the prize he hoped to obtain. These were his words: "Master, I am the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaesus and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine; for thou art my Fortune and my Fate." Nero replied to him as follows: "Well hast thou done to come hither in person, that meeting me A.D. 66

[3] *συμβάσῃς* Dind., *ξυμβάσῃς* VC.
[4] *τεύξοιτο* Sylb., *τεύξαιτο* VC.

ἐλθών, ἵνα καὶ παρὼν παρόντος μου ἀπολαύσῃς· ἃ γάρ σοι οὔτε ὁ πατὴρ κατέλιπεν οὔτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ δόντες ἐτήρησαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ χαρίζομαι καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἀρμενίας ποιῶ, ἵνα καὶ σὺ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μάθωσιν ὅτι καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βασιλείας
4 καὶ δωρεῖσθαι δύναμαι." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνελθεῖν τε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος πεποιημένην ἐκέλευσε, καὶ καθιζηθέντι[1] αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν πόδα τὸ διάδημα ἐπέθηκε. βοαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλαὶ καὶ
6 παντοδαπαὶ ἐγένοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ ψήφισμα καὶ πανήγυρις θεατρική. καὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡ σκηνὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιφέρεια αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἔνδοθεν ἐκεχρύσωτο, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐσῄει χρυσῷ ἐκεκόσμητο· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν χρυσῆν
2 ἐπωνόμασαν. τά γε μὴν παραπετάσματα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος διαταθέντα,[2] ὅπως τὸν ἥλιον ἀπερύκοι,[3] ἁλουργὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων ὁ Νέρων ἐνέστικτο, πέριξ δὲ ἀστέρες χρυσοῖ ἐπέλαμπον.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ συμποσίῳ πολυτελεῖ ἐχρήσαντο· ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐκιθαρῴδησε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἡρματηλάτησε, τήν τε στολὴν τὴν πράσινον ἐνδεδυμένος
4 καὶ τὸ κράνος τὸ ἡνιοχικὸν περικείμενος. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Τιριδάτης αὐτὸν μὲν δυσχεραίνων τὸν δὲ Κορβούλωνα ἐπαινῶν ἓν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο μόνον ᾐτιᾶτο, ὅτι τοιοῦτον δεσπότην ἔχων ἔφερεν. οὔκουν οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Νέρωνα ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλ' εἶπέ ποτε αὐτῷ "ἀγαθόν, ὦ δέσποτα,
5 ἀνδράποδον Κορβούλωνα ἔχεις." ταῦτα μὲν

[1] καθιζηθέντι V, καθιζέντι C.

face to face thou mightest enjoy my grace. For what A.D. 66
neither thy father left thee nor thy brothers gave and preserved for thee, this do I grant thee. King of Armenia I now declare thee, that both thou and they may understand that I have power to take away kingdoms and to bestow them." At the close of these words he bade him ascend by the approach which had been built in front of the rostra expressly for this occasion, and when Tiridates had been made to sit beneath his feet, he placed the diadem upon his head. At this, too, there were many shouts of all sorts. By special decree there was also a celebration in the theatre. Not merely the stage but the whole interior of the theatre round about had been gilded, and all the properties that were brought in had been adorned with gold, so that people gave to the day itself the epithet of "golden." The curtains stretched overhead to keep off the sun were of purple and in the centre of them was an embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with golden stars gleaming all about him.

Such, then, was this occasion; and of course they had a costly banquet. Afterwards Nero publicly sang to the lyre, and also drove a chariot, clad in the costume of the Greens and wearing a charioteer's helmet. This made Tiridates disgusted with him; but he praised Corbulo, in whom he found only this one fault, that he would put up with such a master. Indeed, he made no concealment of his views even to Nero himself, but said to him one day: "Master, you have in Corbulo a good slave." But this remark

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[2] διαταθέντα R. Steph., διατεθέντα VC.
[3] ἀπερύκοι Xyl., ἀπερύκει VC.

οὐδὲ συνιέντι αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκολάκευσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπέδραμε δεινότατα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δῶρά τε παντοδαπὰ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ἄξια, ὥς φασιν, ἔλαβε, καὶ Ἀρτάξατα
6 *ἀνοικοδομῆσαι ἐπετράπη· δημιουργούς τε πρὸς τούτοις πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρήμασι πείσας, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξήγαγεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορβούλων ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διαβῆναι ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτῷ δοθεῖσιν· ὅθεν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Τιριδάτης τοῦτόν τε ἐθαύ-*
7 *μασε καὶ ἐκείνου κατέγνω. ἀνεκομίσθη δὲ οὐχ ᾗπερ ἦλθε διὰ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πλεύσας· καὶ εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὥστε καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καταπλαγῆναι καὶ ἰσχύος ἕνεκα καὶ κάλλους.*— Xiph. 172, 18–175, 26 R. St.

1[a] *Ὅτι θεώμενος Τιριδάτης ποτὲ παγκράτιον, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε*[1] *θάτερον τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν πεσόντα καὶ τυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἔφη "ἄδικος ἡ μάχη· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν πεσόντα τύπτεσθαι."*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 68 (p. 214 Mai. = p. 196, 6–9 Dind.).

2 *Ὁ μὲν δὴ Τιριδάτης τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἀνοικοδομήσας Νερώνεια προσηγόρευσεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Οὐολόγαισος οὔτε ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα, καίτοι πολλάκις μεταπεμφθείς, ἠθέλησε, καὶ τέλος, ὡς ὀχληρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, ἀντεπέστειλέν οἱ ὅτι πολύ σοι ῥᾷον ἢ ἐμοί ἐστι τοσαύτην θάλασσαν πλεῦσαι. ἂν οὖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔλθῃς, τότε συνθησόμεθα*

fell on uncomprehending ears. In all other matters A.D. 66 he flattered the emperor and ingratiated himself most skilfully, with the result that he received all kinds of gifts, said to have been worth 200,000,000 sesterces, and obtained permission to rebuild Artaxata. Moreover, he took with him from Rome many artisans, some of whom he got from Nero, and some of whom he persuaded by offers of high wages. Corbulo, however, would not let them all cross into Armenia, but only those whom Nero had given him. This caused Tiridates both to admire him and to despise the emperor more than ever. The king did not return by the route that he had followed in coming,[1]—through Illyricum and north of the Ionian Sea,—but instead he sailed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium. He viewed also the cities of Asia, which served to increase his amazement at the strength and beauty of the Roman empire.

Tiridates one day viewed an exhibition of the pancratium, at which one of the contestants after falling to the ground was being struck by his opponent. When the king saw this, he exclaimed: "The fight is unfair. It is not fair that a man who has fallen should be struck."

Tiridates rebuilt Artaxata and named it Neronia. But Vologaesus, though often summoned, refused to come to Nero, and finally, when the latter's invitations became burdensome to him, sent back a despatch to this effect: "It is far easier for you than for me to traverse so great a body of water. Therefore, if you will come to Asia, we can then arrange where we

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[1] εἶδε Mai, εἶδειν cod.

ποῦ δυνησόμεθα συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τοιαῦτα τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Πάρθος ἔγραψεν.—R. St. 175, 26–31 R. St., Exc. U[R] 13.

8 Νέρων δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἔπλευσε, καίπερ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ἔχων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας
2 ἢ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας, ὥσπερ ἐνενόει·[1] τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ κατασκόπους ἑκατέρωσε ἔπεμψεν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ χρόνου καὶ πόνου ὁρῶν δεόμενα ἤλπιζεν αὐτόματά οἱ προσχωρήσειν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη, οὔτι γε ὡς Φλαμινῖνος[2] οὐδ' ὡς Μόμμιος[3] ἢ καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Αὔγουστος οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπί τε ἡνιοχήσει[4] καὶ κιθαρῳδήσει κηρύξει τε καὶ
3 τραγῳδίας ὑποκρίσει. οὐ γὰρ ἤρκει αὐτῷ ἡ Ῥώμη, οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου θέατρον, οὐδ' ὁ μέγας ἱππόδρομος, ἀλλ' ἐδεήθη καὶ ἐκστρατείας τινός, ἵνα καὶ περιοδονίκης, ὡς ἔλεγε, γένηται. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε πλῆθος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Αὐγουστείων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπηγάγετο ὅσον, εἴπερ ἐμπολέμιον ἦν, καὶ Πάρθους ἂν καὶ τὰ
4 ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο. ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἷοι Νερώνειοι ἂν στρατιῶται γένοιντο, καὶ ὅπλα κιθάρας τε καὶ πλῆκτρα προσωπεῖά[5] τε καὶ ἐμβάτας ἔφερον. καὶ ἐνίκησε νίκας οἵας στρατοπέδῳ τοιούτῳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ κατέλυσε Τέρπνον καὶ Διόδωρον καὶ Παμμένην
5 ὡς Φίλιππον ἢ Περσέα ἢ[6] Ἀντίοχον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τὸν Παμμένην ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ

[1] ἐνενόει VC, ἐνόει cod. Peir.
[2] Φλαμινῖνος Sylb., φλαμίνιος VC cod. Peir.
[3] Μόμμιος cod. Peir., μέμμιος VC.
[4] ἡνιοχήσει VC cod. Peir., ὀρχήσει Zon.
[5] προσωπεῖά Rk., πρόσωπά VC cod. Peir.

shall be able to meet each other." Such was the message which the Parthian wrote at last. A.D. 66

Nero, though angry at him, did not sail against him, nor yet against the Ethiopians or the Caspian Gates, as he had intended. He did, indeed, among other things, send spies to both places, but seeing that the subjugation of these regions demanded time and labour, he hoped that they would submit to him of their own accord. But he crossed over into Greece, not at all as Flamininus or Mummius or as Agrippa and Augustus, his ancestors, had done, but for the purpose of driving chariots, playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting in tragedies. Rome, it seems, was not enough for him, nor Pompey's theatre, nor the great Circus, but he desired also a foreign campaign, in order to become, as he said, victor in the Grand Tour.[1] And a multitude not only of the Augustans[2] but of other persons as well were taken with him, large enough, if it had been a hostile host, to have subdued both Parthians and all other nations. But they were the kind you would have expected Nero's soldiers to be, and the arms they carried were lyres and plectra, masks and buskins. The victories Nero won were such as befitted that sort of army, and he overcame Terpnus and Diodorus and Pammenes, instead of Philip or Perseus or Antiochus. It is probable that his purpose in forcing this Pammenes to compete also, in spite of his age (he had been in

[1] Literally "victor of the periodos." This was a term applied to an athlete who had conquered in the Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean and Olympian games.
[2] See lxi (lxii), 20.

[6] ἢ—ἢ VC, ὡς—ὡς cod. Peir.

τοῦ Γαΐου ἀκμάσαντα κατηνάγκασε, καίτοι[1] γέροντα ὄντα, ἀγωνίσασθαι, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας κρατήσας αἰκίσηται.

9 Καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει, γέλωτα ἂν ὠφλήκει. καίτοι πῶς ἄν[2] τις καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, μὴ ὅτι ἰδεῖν, ὑπομείνειεν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον βουλευτὴν εὐπατρίδην ἀρχιερέα Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα Αὔγουστον ἔς τε τὸ λεύκωμα ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἐγγραφόμενον καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀσκοῦντα, μελετῶντά τέ τινας ᾠδάς, καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κο-
2 μῶντα τὸ δὲ γένειον ψιλιζόμενον, ἱμάτιον ἀναβαλλόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, μεθ' ἑνὸς ἢ δύο ἀκολούθων βαδίζοντα, τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ὑποβλέποντα καὶ ἀεί τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἀψιμαχίας λέγοντα, τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τούς τε μαστιγοφόρους φοβούμενον, καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῖς κρύφα ἅπασιν ἀναλίσκοντα μὴ καὶ ἐλεγχθεὶς μαστιγωθῇ, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ποιοῦντα ἵνα τὸν τῶν κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν καὶ τῶν κηρύκων
3 ἀγῶνα νικήσας ἡττηθῇ τὸν τῶν Καισάρων; τίς γὰρ ἂν προγραφὴ[3] ταύτης χαλεπωτέρα γένοιτο, ἐν ᾗ οὐ[4] Σύλλας μὲν ἄλλους Νέρων δὲ ἑαυτὸν προέγραψεν; τίς δὲ νίκη ἀτοπωτέρα, ἐν ᾗ τὸν κότινον ἢ τὴν δάφνην ἢ τὸ σέλινον ἢ τὴν πίτυν[5]
4 λαβὼν ἀπώλεσε τὸν πολιτικόν; καὶ τί ἄν τις ταῦτα αὐτοῦ μόνα ὀδύραιτο, ὁπότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας ἀναβαίνων κατέπιπτεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον ὑποδύνων ἀπέβαλλε τὸ τῆς

[1] καίτοι VC, καίπερ cod. Peir.
[2] καίτοι πῶς ἂν VC, πῶς γὰρ ἂν cod. Peir.
[3] προγραφὴ Val., ἀπογραφὴ cod. Peir.
[4] οὐ supplied by Rk.

his prime in the reign of Gaius), was that he might A.D. 66
overcome him and vent his dislike by mutilating the statues that had been erected to him.

Had he merely done this, he would have been the A.D. 67
subject of ridicule. Yet how could one endure even to hear about, let alone behold, a Roman, a senator, a patrician, a high priest, a Caesar, an emperor, an Augustus, named on the programme among the contestants, training his voice, practising various songs, wearing long hair on his head the while his chin was smooth-shaven, throwing his toga over his shoulder in the races, walking about with one or two attendants, looking askance at his opponents, and constantly uttering taunting remarks to them, standing in dread of the directors of the games and the wielders of the whip and lavishing money on them all secretly to avoid being brought to book and scourged? And all this he did, though by winning the contests of the lyre-players and tragedians and heralds he would make certain his defeat in the contest of the Caesars. What harsher proscription could there ever be than this, in which it was not Sulla that posted the names of others, but Nero that posted his own name? What stranger victory than one for which he received the crown of wild olive, bay, parsley or pine and lost the political crown? Yet why should one lament these acts of his alone, seeing that he also elevated himself on the high-soled buskins only to fall from the throne, and in putting on the mask threw off the dignity of his sovereignty to beg in the guise of a runaway slave, to be led about as a blind man, to be

[5] πίτυν Val., πύτην cod. Peir.

ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, ἐδεῖτο ὡς δραπέτης, ἐποδηγεῖτο ὡς τυφλός, ἐκύει[1] ἔτικτεν ἐμαίνετο ἡλᾶτο,[2] τόν τε Οἰδίποδα καὶ τὸν Θυέστην τόν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμέωνα τόν τε[3] Ὀρέστην ὡς
5 πλήθει ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τά γε προσωπεῖα[4] τοτὲ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοτὲ[5] δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ εἰκασμένα ἔφερε· τὰ γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα πρὸς τὴν Σαβῖναν ἐσκεύαστο, ὅπως κἀκείνη καὶ
6 τεθνηκυῖα πομπεύῃ. καὶ πάντα ὅσα οἱ τυχόντες ὑποκρίνονται, κἀκεῖνος καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττε καὶ ἔπασχε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον χρυσαῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἐδεσμεύετο· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπρεπεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτοκράτορι Ῥωμαίων σιδηραῖς δεῖσθαι.

10 Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὁρῶντες ἔφερον ἐπῄνουν, Πυθιονίκην τε αὐτὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπιονίκην καὶ περιοδονίκην παντονίκην, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς εἰώθεσαν, ἀπεκάλουν, συμμιγνύντες δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνόματα, ὥστε ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἀκροτελεύτιον εἶναι.—Xiph. 175, 31–177, 10 R. St., Exc. Val. 251 (p. 690 f.).

1[a] Ὅτι ἀγανακτήσαντος αὐτοῦ πρός τινα ὅτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐσκυθρώπασε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ὑπερ-

[1] ἐκύει cod. Peir., ἔκυεν VC.
[2] ἡλᾶτο cod. Peir., om. VC.
[3] τόν τε VC, καὶ cod. Peir.
[4] προσωπεῖα Rk., πρόσωπα VC cod. Peir.
[5] τοτὲ—τοτὲ cod. Peir., πότε—πότε V, ποτὲ—ποτὲ C.

heavy with child, to be in labour, to be a madman, or A.D. 67
to wander an outcast, his favourite rôles being those of Oedipus, Thyestes, Heracles, Alcmeon and Orestes?[1] The masks that he wore were sometimes made to resemble the characters he was portraying and sometimes bore his own likeness; but the women's masks were all fashioned after the features of Sabina, in order that, though dead, she might still take part in the spectacle. All the situations that ordinary actors simulate in their acting he, too, would portray in speech or action or in submitting to the action of others—save only that golden chains were used to bind him; for apparently it was not thought proper for a Roman emperor to be bound in iron shackles.

All this behaviour, nevertheless, was witnessed, endured, and approved, not only by the crowd in general, but also by the soldiers. They acclaimed him Pythian Victor, Olympian Victor, Victor in the Grand Tour,[2] Universal Victor, besides all the usual expressions, and of course joined to these names the titles belonging to his imperial office, so that every one of them had "Caesar" and "Augustus" as a tag.

He conceived a dislike for a certain man because while he was speaking the man frowned and was not over-lavish of his praises; and so he drove him

[1] With the addition of Canace (from the *Aeolus*) from ch. 10, the characters here named may possibly suffice for all the situations just described. For Thyestes as a beggar see Aristophanes *Ach.* 433; yet little is known of this play, and it is more natural to think of the famous Telephus. Alcmeon and Orestes could each serve for both the madman and the outcast. It is to be noted that all the plays, except the *Oedipus Coloneus*, are by Euripides.

[2] See ch. 8.

επήνεσεν, ἀπεδίωξεν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψας μὴ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος "καὶ ποῦ ἀπέλθω;" ὁ Φοῖβος ὁ ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ "εἰς κόρακας."—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 71 (p. 214 sq. Mai. = p. 196, 19–24 Dind.).

2 Οὐδὲ[1] ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐλεῆσαι τὸν κακοδαίμονα οὔτε μισῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἷς μέν τις στρατιώτης ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον ἠγανάκτησε καὶ προσδραμὼν ἔλυσεν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐρομένου τινὸς "τί ποιεῖ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "τίκτει·" καὶ γὰρ τὴν[2] Κανάκην ὑπεκρίνετο. 3 ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον Ῥωμαίων οὐδείς σφων ἐποίησε· τοσαῦτα γάρ που χρήματα διελάγχανον ὥστε καὶ εὔχεσθαι αὐτὸν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα δρᾶν, ἵν' ἔτι[3] πλείονα λαμβάνωσιν.—Xiph. 177, 10–177, 16 R. St.

11 Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταῦτα μόνα οὕτως ἐγεγόνει, αἰσχύνη τε ἂν[4] καὶ χλευασία τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀκίνδυνος[5] ἐνενόμιστο· νῦν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ σταλείς, πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλεηλάτησε, καίπερ ἐλευθέραν ἀφείς, παμπληθεῖς δὲ 2 ἐφόνευσεν ἄνδρας γυναῖκας παῖδας. καὶ πρότερον μὲν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς οὐσίας ἐκέλευσέν οἱ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους τῶν θανατουμένων ἀποθνήσκοντας καταλείπειν, αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις διαθήκας γράφειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ὅπως μὴ τῶν χρημάτων ἕνεκα αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνειν δοκῇ (πάντως δὲ πάντα ἢ τά γε πλείω αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν· εἰ γοῦν[6] τις ἔλαττόν τι αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ

[1] οὐδὲ Sylb., οὐδὲν VC.
[2] τὴν exc. Vat., τὸν VC.

away and would not let him come into his presence. A.D. 67
He persisted in his refusal to grant him audience, and when the man asked, "Where shall I go, then?" Phoebus, Nero's freedman, replied, "To the deuce!"

None of them ventured either to pity or to hate the wretched man. One of the soldiers, to be sure, on seeing him in chains, grew indignant, ran up, and set him free. Another in reply to a question, "What is the emperor doing?" replied, "He is in labour"; for Nero was then acting the part of Canace. Not one of them conducted himself in a way at all worthy of a Roman. Instead, because so much money fell to their share, they offered prayers that he might give many such performances, so that they might receive still more.

Now if this had been all that he did, the affair, while being a source of shame and of ridicule, would still have been thought harmless. But, as it was, he devastated the whole of Greece precisely as if he had been sent out to wage war, notwithstanding that he had left the country free; and he slew great numbers of men, women and children. At first he commanded the children and freedmen of those who were executed to leave him half their property at their death, and allowed the victims themselves to make wills, in order that he might not appear to be killing them for their money. He invariably took all that was bequeathed

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[3] ἔτι Sylb., ὅτι VC.
[4] ἂν Bk. (?), ἅμα VC.
[5] ἀκίνδυνος (changed to ἀκίνδυνον) C, ἀκίνδυνον V.
[6] εἰ γοῦν Bk., εἶτ' οὖν cod. Peir., εἰ δ' οὖν Rk.

Τιγελλίνῳ ὧν ἤλπιζον κατέλειπεν, οὐδὲ τῶν δια-
3 θηκῶν ὠνίνατο[1]). ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ὅλας τὰς οὐσίας
ἀφῃρεῖτο, τούς τε παῖδάς σφων πάντας ἅμα δι' ἑνὸς
δόγματος ἐξήλασεν. οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν φευγόντων ἔφθειρεν.
ἐπεὶ τάς γε οὐσίας ὅσας καὶ ζώντων τινῶν[2]
ἐδήμευσε, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναῶν ἐσύλησεν, οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμή-
4 σειεν ἄν τις. διέτρεχον γὰρ γραμματοφόροι
μηδὲν ἄλλο διαγγέλλοντες ἢ ὅτι "τόνδε ἀπόκτει-
νον,"[3] "ὅδε τέθνηκεν." ἔξω γὰρ δὴ τῶν βασι-
λικῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἰδιωτικὸν διεπέμπετο.
συχνοὺς γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν πρώτων ἐξήγα-
γεν ὥς τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος, ἵν' ἐκεῖ ἀποθάνωσιν.
12 τοὺς μέντοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
πάντας Ἡλίῳ τινὶ Καισαρείῳ ἐκδότους παρέδωκε·
πάντα γὰρ ἁπλῶς αὐτῷ ἐπετέτραπτο, ὥστε καὶ
δημεύειν καὶ φυγαδεύειν καὶ ἀποκτιννύναι, καὶ
πρὶν δηλῶσαι τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἰδιώτας ὁμοίως
καὶ ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτάς.—Xiph. 177, 17–26
R. St., Exc. Val. 252, 253 (p. 693).
2 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ δύο
αὐτοκράτορσιν ἅμα ἐδούλευσε, Νέρωνι καὶ Ἡλίῳ.
οὐδὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁπότερος αὐτῶν χείρων ἦν· τὰ
μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου πάντα ἔπραττον, ἐν ἑνὶ
δὲ τούτῳ διήλλασσον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῦ Αὐγούστου
ἀπόγονος κιθαρῳδοὺς καὶ τραγῳδούς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ
3 Κλαυδίου ἀπελεύθερος Καίσαρας ἐζήλου. τὸν γὰρ

[1] ὠνίνατο Bk., ὠνίνετο cod. Peir.
[2] καὶ ζώντων τινῶν VC, τῶν ζώντων cod. Peir.
[3] ἀπόκτεινον VC, ἀπέκτεινεν cod. Peir.

to him, or at least the greater part, and in case A.D. 67
anyone left to him or to Tigellinus less than they were expecting, his will was of no avail. Later he took away the entire property of those who were executed, and banished all their children at one time by a single decree. Nor was he content with even this, but he also destroyed not a few of those who were living in exile. As for the possessions that he confiscated from people while they were living and the votive offerings that he stole from the very temples in Rome, no one could ever enumerate them all. Indeed, despatch-bearers hurried back and forth bearing no other communications than "Put this man to death!" or "So-and-so is dead"; for no private messages, only royal communications, were carried to and fro. Nero, it seems, had taken away many of the foremost men to Greece, under the pretence of needing some assistance from them, merely in order that they might perish there. As for the people in Rome and Italy, he had handed them all over to the tender mercies of a certain Helius, an imperial freedman. This man had been given absolutely complete authority, so that he could confiscate, banish or put to death ordinary citizens, knights, and senators alike, even before notifying Nero.

Thus the Roman empire was at that time a slave to two emperors at once, Nero and Helius; and I am unable to say which of them was the worse. In most respects they behaved entirely alike, and the one point of difference was that the descendant of Augustus was emulating lyre-players and tragedians, whereas the freedman of Claudius was emulating Caesars. As regards Tigellinus, I con-

Τιγελλῖνον[1] ἐν προσθήκης μέρει τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὅτι σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, τίθημι. χωρὶς δὲ ὅ τε Πολύκλειτος καὶ Καλουία Κρισπινίλλα[2] ἦγον ἐπόρθουν ἐσύλων πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο, ἐκεῖνος μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, αὕτη δὲ μετά τε τοῦ
4 Νέρωνος καὶ μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης τοῦ Σπόρου. τήν τε γὰρ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν περὶ ἐσθῆτα, καίπερ γυνὴ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς οὖσα, ἐπεπίστευτο, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πάντες ἀπεδύοντο.

13 Ὠνόμασε δὲ Σαβῖναν τὸν Σπόρον οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα αὐτῆς ἐξετέτμητο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐγήματο αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκείνη, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ συμβόλαιον, ἐκδόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Τιγελλίνου, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε. καὶ τοὺς[3] γάμους αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἑώρτασαν, τά τε ἄλλα οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιλέγοντες, καὶ γνησίους σφίσι παῖδας γεννηθῆναι εὐχόμενοι.
2 κἀκ τούτου συνεγίνοντο ἅμα τῷ Νέρωνι Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ, Σπόρος δὲ ὡς γυνή· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κυρία καὶ βασιλὶς καὶ δέσποινα ὠνομάζετο. καὶ τί τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, ὁπότε καὶ μειράκια καὶ κόρας σταυροῖς γυμνὰς προσδέων θηρίου τέ τινος δορὰν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ προσπί-
3 πτων σφίσιν ἠσέλγαινεν ὥσπερ τι ἐσθίων. τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Νέρων ἠσχημόνει.

Τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς χιτώνιόν τι ἐνδεδυκὼς ἄνθινον καὶ σινδόνιον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἔχων ἠσπάσατο· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἤδη παρηνόμει, ὥστε καὶ ἀζώστους χιτῶνας ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐνδύεσθαι. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ

[1] Τιγελλῖνον R. Steph., τιγιλλῖνον VC.
[2] Κρισπινίλλα Bk., κρισπινίλα VC. [3] τοὺς Bk., τούς τε VC.

sider him a mere appendage of Nero, because he was constantly with him; but Polycleitus and Calvia Crispinilla, apart from Nero, plundered, sacked and despoiled everything that it was possible to pillage. The former was associated with Helius at Rome, and the latter with the "Sabina" who was known as Sporus. Calvia had been entrusted with the care of the boy and with the oversight of the wardrobe, though a woman and of high rank; and through her all were stripped of their possessions. A.D. 67

Now Nero called Sporus "Sabina" not merely because, owing to his resemblance to her he had been made a eunuch, but because the boy, like the mistress, had been solemnly married to him in Greece, Tigellinus giving the bride away, as the law ordained. All the Greeks held a celebration in honour of their marriage, uttering all the customary good wishes, even to the extent of praying that legitimate children might be born to them. After that Nero had two bedfellows at once, Pythagoras to play the rôle of husband to him, and Sporus that of wife. The latter, in addition to other forms of address, was termed "lady," "queen," and "mistress." Yet why should one wonder at this, seeing that Nero would fasten naked boys and girls to stakes, and then putting on the hide of a wild beast would attack them and satisfy his brutal lust under the appearance of devouring parts of their bodies? Such were the indecencies of Nero.

When he received the senators, he wore a short flowered tunic and a muslin neck-cloth; for in matters of dress, also, he was already transgressing custom, even going so far as to wear ungirded tunics in public. It is reported also that the members of

τέλους ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐφιππίοις[1] ἐν τῇ ἐτησίᾳ σφῶν ἐξετάσει ἐχρήσαντο.

14 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις[2] ἅρμα ἐλάσας καὶ πεσὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν συντριβεὶς ὅμως ἐστεφανώθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλανοδίκαις τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, ἃς ὕστερον Γάλβας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπήτησεν, ἔδωκε.—Xiph. 177, 26–178, 25 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τῇ Πυθίᾳ δέκα μυριάδας ἔδωκεν, ὅτι τινὰ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐθέσπισεν· ἃς ὁ Γάλβας ἐκομίσατο. τοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴτ' οὖν ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι λυπηρά τινα προεῖπεν αὐτῷ, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως μανείς, τήν τε χώραν τὴν Κιρραίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ στρατιώταις ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον κατέλυσεν, ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὸ στόμιον ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα ἀνῄει σφάξας.
3 ἠγωνίσατο δὲ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμοίως πόλει ἀγῶνα ἐχούσῃ, κήρυκι πρὸς πάντα τὰ κηρύξεως δεόμενα Κλουουίῳ[3] Ῥούφῳ ἀνδρὶ ὑπατευκότι χρησάμενος, πλὴν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Λακεδαίμονος·[4] ταύταις γὰρ μόναις οὐδὲ ἐπεφοίτησε τὴν ἀρχήν, τῇ μὲν διὰ τοὺς Λυκούργου νόμους ὡς ἐναντίους τῇ προαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ὄντας, τῇ δὲ διὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν
4 Ἐρινύων[5] λόγον. τὸ δὲ δὴ κήρυγμα ἦν "Νέρων Καῖσαρ νικᾷ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ στεφανοῖ τόν τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην." ἔχων γάρ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, οἰκουμένην, ἐκιθαρῴδει τε καὶ ἐκήρυττε καὶ ἐτραγῴδει.—Xiph. 178, 25–179, 5 R. St., Exc. Val. 254 (p. 694).

[1] ἐφιππίοις Leuncl., ἐφ' ἵπποις VC.
[2] Ὀλυμπίοις H. Steph., ὀλυμπιονίοις VC.
[3] Κλουουίῳ Bk., κλουβίῳ VC.
[4] Λακεδαίμονος Rk., λακεδαιμονίων VC.

the equestrian order used saddle-cloths in his reign A.D. 67
for the first time at their annual review.

At the Olympic games he fell from the chariot he was driving and came very near being crushed to death; yet he was crowned victor. In acknowledgment of this favour he gave to the Hellanodikai[1] the million sesterces which Galba later demanded back from them.

This same emperor gave 400,000 sesterces to the Pythia for uttering some oracles that suited him; this money Galba recovered. But from Apollo, on the other hand, whether from vexation at the god for making some unpleasant predictions to him or because he was merely crazy, he took away the territory of Cirrha and gave it to the soldiers. He also abolished the oracle, after slaying some people and throwing them into the fissure from which the sacred vapour arose. He contended in every city alike that held any contest, always employing Cluvius Rufus, an ex-consul, as herald whenever the services of a herald were required. Athens and Sparta were two exceptions, being the only places that he did not visit at all. He avoided the latter city because of the laws of Lycurgus, which stood in the way of his designs, and the former because of the story about the Furies. The proclamation always ran: "Nero Caesar wins this contest and crowns the Roman people and the inhabited world that is his own." Thus, though possessing a world, according to his own statement, he nevertheless went on playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting tragedies.

[1] The chief judges at the Olympic games.

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[5] Ἐρινύων Bk., ἐριννύων VC.

15 Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν οὕτως δεινῶς ἐμίσει ὥστε καὶ
τῷ Οὐατινίῳ[1] ὡς μάλιστα χαίρειν, ὅτι ἔλεγεν ἀεί
ποτε πρὸς αὐτόν "μισῶ σε, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι συγκλη-
τικὸς εἶ·" χρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ λεχθέντι ὑπ'
2 αὐτοῦ ῥήματι. ἐτηροῦντο δὲ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τούτων
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀεί ποτε καὶ αἱ ἔσοδοι καὶ αἱ
ἔξοδοι τά τε σχήματα καὶ τὰ νεύματα καὶ τὰ
ἐπιβοήματα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀεὶ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ
σπουδαίως ἀκροώμενοι τορῶς τε ἐκβοῶντες ἐπη-
νοῦντο καὶ ἐτιμῶντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καὶ ἠτιμάζοντο
3 καὶ ἐκολάζοντο, ὥστε τινὰς μὴ δυναμένους ἐπὶ
πολὺ ἀντέχειν (πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσ-
πέρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ παρετείνοντο) προσποιεῖσθαί τε
ἐκθνήσκειν καὶ νεκρῶν δίκην ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων
ἐκφέρεσθαι.

16 Πάρεργον δὲ δὴ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τῆς ἐν τῇ
Ἑλλάδι ἐποιήσατο τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου
διορύξαι ἐπιθυμήσας, καὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ ἔργου
καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀκνούντων· αἷμά τε γὰρ
τοῖς πρώτοις ἁψαμένοις τῆς γῆς ἀνέβλυσεν, καὶ
οἰμωγαὶ μυκηθμοί τέ τινες ἐξηκούοντο, καὶ εἴδωλα
2 πολλὰ ἐφαντάζετο. λαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς δίκελλαν καί
τι καὶ ἀνασκάψας ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκῃ
αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων
ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν
μετεπέμψατο.

17 Ἔς τε οὖν τἆλλα καὶ ἐς ταῦτα χρημάτων
πολλῶν δεόμενος, καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ μεγα-
λόδωρος ὁμοίως ὤν, καὶ ἅμα φοβούμενος τοὺς
δυνατωτάτους μὴ ἐπίθωνταί οἱ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντι,
2 πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἔφθειρεν. ὧν

[1] Οὐατινίῳ Lipsius, οὐατωνίω VC.

His hatred for the senate was so fierce that he took particular pleasure in Vatinius, who was always saying to him: "I hate you, Caesar, for being of senatorial rank." (I give his very words.) Both the senators and all others were constantly subjected to the closest scrutiny in their entrances, their exits, their attitudes, their gestures, and their shouts. The men that were always in Nero's company, listened attentively and loudly cheered him, were commended and honoured; the rest were both dishonoured and punished. Some, therefore, being unable to hold out until the end of his performances (for often the spectators would be kept on a strain from early morning until evening), would pretend to swoon and would be carried out of the theatres as if dead. A.D. 67

As a secondary achievement connected with his sojourn in Greece he conceived a desire to dig a canal across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus, and actually began the task. Men shrank from it, however, because, when the first workers touched the earth, blood spouted from it, groans and bellowings were heard, and many phantoms appeared. Nero himself thereupon grasped a mattock and by throwing up some of the soil fairly compelled the rest to imitate him. For this work he sent for a great multitude of men from other nations as well.

For this and other purposes he needed great sums of money; and as he was at once a promoter of great enterprises and a giver of great gifts, and at the same time feared an attack from the persons of most influence while he was thus engaged, he made away with many excellent men. Of most of

ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐάσω (πᾶσί τε γὰρ παρ'
αὐτῷ δημόσιον ἔγκλημα ἦν ἀρετή τε καὶ πλοῦτος
καὶ γένος, καὶ πάντες ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεκτίννυσαν ἢ
ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐφονεύοντο), τοῦ δὲ δὴ Κορβούλωνος[1]
καὶ Σουλπικίων Σκριβωνίων, Ῥούφου τε καὶ Πρό-
3 *κλου, μνημονεύσω, τούτων μὲν ὅτι ἀδελφοί τε καὶ*
ἡλικιῶται τρόπον τινὰ ὄντες, καὶ μηδὲν μηδέποτε
ἄνευ ἀλλήλων πράξαντες, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ γένει
οὕτω καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ συμπεφυκότες,
καὶ τὰς Γερμανίας δὲ ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ πολὺ ἅμα διῴ-
κησαν, ἦλθόν τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετάπεμπτοι ὥστε
4 *αὐτῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος δεομένου, καὶ ἐγκλήματα οἷα*
ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔφερε λαβόντες, καὶ μήτε λόγου
τυγχάνοντες μήτε ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Νέρωνος
ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὁμοίως
ἀτιμαζόμενοι, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ
5 *ἐτελεύτησαν τὰς φλέβας αὑτῶν*[2] *σχάσαντες, τοῦ*
δὲ δὴ Κορβούλωνος ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐντιμότατα
μεταπεμψάμενος, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πατέρα
καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὀνομάζων, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ
τῇ Κεγχρείᾳ[3] *προσέσχε, σφαγῆναι, πρὶν καὶ ἐς*
ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, προσέταξε· κιθαρῳδήσειν γὰρ
ἤμελλεν, ὥς τινες λέγουσι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν
6 *αὐτῷ τὸ ὀρθοστάδιον ἔχων ὀφθῆναι. καὶ ὃς*
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὸ προστεταγμένον ἔγνω, ξίφος
τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐρρωμένως παίων ἔλεγεν
"ἄξιος·" τότε γὰρ δή, τότε πρῶτον ἐπίστευσεν
ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεποιήκει καὶ φεισάμενος τοῦ κιθαρῳ-

[1] Κορβούλωνος R. Steph., *κουρβούλλωνος* VC (so below).
[2] αὑτῶν Sylb., *αὐτῶν* VC.
[3] Κεγχρείᾳ Sylb., *κεγχρία* VC.

these I shall omit any account, inasmuch as the stock complaint under which all of them were brought before him was excellence, wealth, or family; and all of them either killed themselves or were slain by others. I shall, however, mention Corbulo and the two Sulpicii Scribonii, Rufus and Proculus. The latter two were brothers of about the same age, and had never done anything separately but had remained united in purpose and in property as they were in family; they had for a long time administered the two Germanies together, and now came to Greece at the summons of Nero, who pretended to want them for something. Complaints of the kind in which that period abounded were lodged against them, but they could neither obtain a hearing nor get within sight of Nero; and as this caused them to be slighted by everybody alike, they began to long for death and so met their end by opening their veins. I mention Corbulo, because the emperor, after sending him also a most courteous summons and invariably calling him, among other names, "father" and "benefactor," then, when this general landed at Cenchreae, commanded that he should be slain before he had even entered his presence. Some explain this by saying that Nero was about to appear as a lyre-player and could not endure the idea of being seen by Corbulo while he wore the long ungirded tunic. The condemned man, as soon as be understood the order, seized a sword, and dealing himself a lusty blow exclaimed: "Your due!"[1] Then, indeed, for the first time he was convinced that he had done wrong both in A.D. 67

[1] Generally used in acclaiming a hero: "Thou art worthy."

18 *δοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν ἄνοπλος. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο· τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι ὀρχεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἐθελήσας οὐκ ἠδυνήθη; τί δ' ὅτι Καικίναν[1] Τοῦσκον ὑπερώρισεν, ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων ἐλούσατο ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ὃ ἐκείνῳ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἥξοντι ἐποιήθη;*

2 *Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἥλιος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσατο, καὶ Σουλπίκιον Καμερῖνον ἄνδρα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι Πυθικοὶ ἐκ προγόνων ἐπικαλούμενοι οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο τὸ πρόσρημα τοῦτ' ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς τοῦ Νέρωνος νίκας τὰς Πυθικὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ἠσέβουν.*
3 *τῶν δὲ Αὐγουστείων ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ χιλίων λιτρῶν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένων, πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἠναγκάσθη συντελέσαι σφίσι τὸ ἀνάλωμα. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελθεῖν· τοσαῦται γὰρ αἵ τε θυσίαι καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ἐπηγγέλθησαν ὥστε μηδ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξαρκέσαι.*

19 *Ὁ δὲ Ἥλιος πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ, παραινῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνακομισθῆναι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτὸν εἰπὼν μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρασκευάζεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρευθὺς ἐς*
2 *τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποπλεῦσαι. καὶ ἐγένετο μέν τις*

[1] Καικίναν Lipsius, καὶ κίνναν VC.

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[1] *i.e.* without his army.
[2] See lxi (lxii), 20.

sparing the lyre-player and in going to him unarmed.[1] This was what was going on in Greece. Is it worth while adding that Nero ordered Paris, the pantomimic dancer, to be slain because the emperor had wished to learn dancing from him but had not the capacity? Or that he banished Caecina Tuscus, the governor of Egypt, for bathing in the bath that had been specially constructed for the emperor's intended visit to Alexandria? A.D. 67

In Rome during this same period Helius committed many terrible deeds. Among other things he put to death one of the foremost men, Sulpicius Camerinus, together with his son, the complaint against them being that they would not give up their title of Pythicus, received from some of their ancestors, but showed irreverence toward Nero's Pythian victories by their use of this same title. And when the Augustans[2] proposed to make a statue of the emperor weighing a thousand pounds,[3] the whole equestrian order was compelled to help to defray the expense they had undertaken. As for the doings of the senate, it would be a task to describe them all in detail; for so many sacrifices and days of thanksgiving were announced that the whole year would not hold them all.

Helius had for some time been sending to Nero many messages urging him to return as quickly as possible, but when he found that no attention was paid to them, he went himself to Greece in seven days and frightened him by reporting that a great conspiracy against him was on foot in Rome. This report caused Nero to embark for Italy at once.

[3] The statue was probably of gold, as was the case with a similar statue erected to Commodus (cf. lxxii. 15, 3).

ἐλπὶς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος αὐτὸν φθαρήσεσθαι, μάτην
δὲ πολλοὶ ἥσθησαν· ἐσώθη γάρ. καί τισι καὶ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὀλέθρου αἴτιον ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ εὔ-
20 ξαντο καὶ ἤλπισαν αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ'
οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τείχους τι
καθηρέθη καὶ τῶν πυλῶν περιερράγη, νενομίσθαι
τινῶν λεγόντων ἑκάτερον τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων
2 στεφανηφόροις γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἐσεφοίτησαν πρῶ-
τοι μὲν οἱ τοὺς στεφάνους οὓς ἀνῄρητο[1]
κομίζοντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι σανίδια[2] ἐπὶ
δοράτων ἀνατείνοντες, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο τό τε
ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος,
ὅτι τε Νέρων Καῖσαρ πρῶτος πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ
3 τοῦ αἰῶνος Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησεν αὐτό, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς
ἐφ' ἅρματος ἐπινικίου, ἐν ᾧ ποτε ὁ Αὔγουστος τὰ
πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα νικητήρια ἐπεπόμφει, ἁλουργίδα
χρυσόπαστον ἔχων καὶ κότινον ἐστεφανωμένος,
τὴν Πυθικὴν δάφνην προτείνων· καὶ αὐτῷ
4 ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς παρωχεῖτο. καὶ οὕτω
διά τε τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μετά
τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς
τε βουλῆς διελθὼν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη, καὶ
ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον, πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως
ἐστεφανωμένης καὶ λυχνοκαυτούσης καὶ θυμιώ-
5 σης, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτῶν
βουλευτῶν ὅτι μάλιστα, συμβοώντων "Ὀλυμ-
πιονῖκα οὐᾶ, Πυθιονῖκα οὐᾶ, Αὔγουστε Αὔγουστε.
Νέρωνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, Νέρωνι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. ὡς
εἷς περιοδονίκης, εἷς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Αὔγουστε

[1] ἀνῄρητο Rk., ἀνῄρουν VC.
[2] σανίδια Bk., σανίδιά τε VC.

There was, indeed, some hope of his perishing in a storm and many rejoiced, but to no purpose, as he came safely to land; and for certain men the very fact that they had prayed and hoped that he might perish furnished a motive for their destruction. A.D. 67
When he entered Rome, a portion of the wall was torn down and a section of the gates broken in, because some asserted that each of these ceremonies was customary upon the return of crowned victors from the games. First entered men bearing the crowns which he had won, and after them others with wooden panels borne aloft on spears, upon which were inscribed the name of the games, the kind of contest, and a statement that Nero Caesar first of all the Romans from the beginning of the world had won it. Next came the victor himself on a triumphal car, the one in which Augustus had once celebrated his many victories; he was clad in a vestment of purple covered with spangles of gold, was crowned with a garland of wild olive, and held in his hand the Pythian laurel. By his side in the vehicle rode Diodorus the lyre-player. After passing in this manner through the Circus and through the Forum in company with the soldiers and the knights and the senate he ascended the Capitol and proceeded thence to the palace. The city was all decked with garlands, was ablaze with lights and reeking with incense, and the whole population, the senators themselves most of all, kept shouting in chorus: "Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero, our Hercules! Hail to Nero, our Apollo! The only Victor of the Grand Tour, the only one from the beginning of A.D. 68

Αὔγουστε. ἱερὰ φωνή· μακάριοι οἵ σου ἀκού-
6 *οντες.” τί γὰρ δεῖ περιπλέκειν καὶ οὐκ αὐτὰ τὰ λεχθέντα δηλοῦν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἰσχύνην τινὰ τῇ συγγραφῇ τὰ ῥηθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόσμον τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκρυφθῆναι φέρει.*

21 *Ἐκτελέσας δὲ ταῦτα ἱπποδρομίας ἐπήγγειλε, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους, τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὅσους ἅρμασι νικήσας εἰλήφει, ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσήνεγκε καὶ τῷ ὀβελίσκῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ περιέθηκε· καὶ ἦσαν ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι.*[1] *ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἡνιόχησε.*
2 *Λάρκιος δέ τις Λυδὸς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας προσφέρων ἵνα κιθαρῳδήσῃ· καὶ ὃς τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀπαξιώσας μισθοῦ τι ποιῆσαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Τιγελλῖνος αὐτὸ ἐσέπραξεν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ), ἐς μέντοι τὸ θέατρον καὶ ὣς ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐκιθαρῴδησε καὶ ἐτραγῴδησεν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἵπποις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐχ ἡμιλλᾶτο. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἑκὼν ἡττᾶτο, ὅπως τά γε ἄλλα τὰ πλείω πιστεύηται*[2] *ἐπ' ἀληθείας κρατεῖν.*—Xiph. 179, 5–182, 6 R. St.

3 *Δίων ξβ' βιβλίῳ· “ καὶ κακὰ ἀμύθητα πολλὰς πόλεις εἰργάζετο.”*—Bekk. *Anecd.* 142, 9. 10.

[1] ὀκτακόσοι καὶ χίλιοι Sylb., ὀκτακόσια καὶ χίλια VC.
[2] πιστεύηται St., πιστεύσηται VC.

time! Augustus! Augustus! O, Divine Voice! Blessed are they that hear thee." I might, to be sure, have used circumlocutions, but why not declare their very words? The expressions that they used do not disgrace my history; rather, the fact that I have not concealed any of them lends it distinction. A.D. 68

When he had finished these ceremonies, he announced a series of horse-races, and carrying into the Circus these crowns as well as all the others that he had secured by his victories in chariot-racing, he placed them round the Egyptian obelisk. The number of them was one thousand eight hundred and eight. And after doing this he appeared as a charioteer. Now a certain Larcius, a Lydian, approached him with an offer of a million sesterces if he would play the lyre for them. Nero, however, would not take the money, disdaining to do anything for pay (albeit Tigellinus collected it, as the price of not putting Larcius to death), but he did appear in the theatre, nevertheless, and not only played the lyre but also acted in a tragedy. (As for the equestrian contests, he never failed to take part in them.) Sometimes he would voluntarily let himself be defeated, in order to make it more credible that he really won on most occasions.

Dio, Book LXII: "And he inflicted countless woes upon many cities."

22, 11 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νέρων οὕτω τε ἔζη καὶ οὕτως ἐμονάρχει, λέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως κατελύθη καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσεν.—Xiph. 182, 6–8 R. St.

1a Ἔτι δ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὄντος τοῦ Νέρωνος Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς προῦπτον ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἔπεμψε. καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ Γαλάται βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἤσχαλλον ἐκ πλείονος καὶ ἐφλέγμαινον.—Zon. 11, 13, p. 41, 5–9 D.

12 Ἦν τις[1] Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐίνδιξ,[2] ἐκ μὲν προγόνων Ἀκυτανὸς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φύλου,[3] κατὰ δὲ τὸν πατέρα βουλευτὴς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τό τε σῶμα ἰσχυρὸς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν συνετός, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον μέγα εὔτολμος· τό τε φιλελεύθερον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον πλεῖστον εἶχεν· ὃς προέστη τῶν Γαλατῶν.—Xiph. 182, 8–11 R. St., Exc. Val. 256 (p. 694).

2 Οὗτος ὁ Οὐίνδιξ συναθροίσας τοὺς Γαλάτας[4] πολλὰ πεπονθότας τε ἐν ταῖς συχναῖς ἐσπράξεσι τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἔτι πάσχοντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμα μακρὰν διεξῆλθε κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ῥῆσιν λέγων δεῖν ἀποστῆναί τε
3 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐπιστῆναι αὐτῷ, "ὅτι" φησὶ "πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένην σεσύληκεν,

[1] ἦν τις V², space left in VC.
[2] Οὐίνδιξ Zon. Antioch. regularly, βίνδιξ VC cod. Peir. regularly.
[3] φύλου cod. Peir., γένους VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXIII

Such was the life led by Nero and such was the way he ruled. I shall now relate how he was put down and driven from his throne. A.D. 68

While Nero was still in Greece, the Jews revolted openly, and he sent Vespasian against them. Also the inhabitants of Britain and of Gaul, oppressed by the taxes, were becoming more vexed and inflamed than ever.

There was a Gaul named Gaius Julius Vindex, an Aquitanian, descended from the royal race and by virtue of his father's status a Roman senator. He was powerful in body and of shrewd intelligence, was skilled in warfare and full of daring for any great enterprise; and he had a passionate love of freedom and a vast ambition. This was the man who stood at the head of the Gauls.

This Vindex called together the Gauls,[1] who had suffered much by the numerous forced levies of money and were still suffering at Nero's hands. And ascending a tribunal he delivered a long and detailed speech against Nero, saying that they ought to revolt from the emperor and join the speaker in an attack upon him, "because," as he said, "he has despoiled the whole Roman world, because he

[1] Cf. Zonaras: (Vindex,) seeing his fellow-Gauls eager for rebellion, aroused them by an harangue that he delivered.

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[1] Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 41, 10–12 D.): (Οὐίνδιξ) ὁρῶν τοὺς ὁμοφύλους Γαλάτας ὀργῶντας πρὸς ἀποστασίαν, δι' ὧν ἐδημηγόρησεν ἠρέθισεν αὐτούς.

ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἄνθος τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολώλεκεν, ὅτι τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ᾔσχυνε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας
4 σώζει. σφαγαὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐγένοντο· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ πῶς ἄν τις κατ' ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν δυνηθείη; εἶδον, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, πιστεύσατέ μοι, εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, εἴγε ἀνὴρ ὁ Σπόρον γεγαμηκώς, ὁ Πυθαγόρᾳ γεγαμημένος, ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ποτὲ μὲν κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ ὀρθοστάδιον καὶ κοθόρνους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐμβάτας καὶ
5 προσωπεῖον. ἤκουσα αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ᾄδοντος, ἤκουσα κηρύττοντος, ἤκουσα τραγῳδοῦντος. εἶδον αὐτὸν δεδεμένον, εἶδον συρόμενον, κύοντα δή, τίκτοντα δή, πάντα ὅσα μυθολογεῖται καὶ λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα καὶ πάσχοντα καὶ δρῶντα. εἶτά τις[1] τὸν τοιοῦτον Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Αὔγουστον ὀνομάσει; μηδαμῶς· μηδεὶς
6 ὑβριζέτω τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀνόματα. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ Αὔγουστος καὶ Κλαύδιος ἔσχον, οὗτος δὲ δὴ Θυέστης τε καὶ Οἰδίπους Ἀλκμέων[2] τε καὶ Ὀρέστης δικαιότατ' ἂν καλοῖτο· τούτους γὰρ ὑποκρίνεται, καὶ ταύτας ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰς ἐπωνυμίας[3] ἀντεπιτέθειται. ἀνάστητε οὖν ἤδη ποτέ, καὶ ἐπικουρήσατε μὲν ὑμῖν[4] αὐτοῖς, ἐπικουρήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ[5] πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην."—Xiph. 182, 11–183, 3 R. St.

[1] εἶτά τις H. Steph., εἶτα τίς VC.
[2] Ἀλκμέων Bs., ἀλκμαίων VC.
[3] ἐπωνυμίας Sylb., ἐπιθυμίας VC.
[4] ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν VC.

has destroyed all the flower of their senate, because he debauched and then killed his mother, and does not preserve even the semblance of sovereignty. Many murders, robberies and outrages, it is true, have often been committed by others; but as for the other deeds committed by Nero, how could one find words fittingly to describe them? I have seen him, my friends and allies,—believe me,—I have seen that man (if man he is who has married Sporus and been given in marriage to Pythagoras), in the circle of the theatre, that is, in the orchestra, sometimes holding the lyre and dressed in loose tunic and buskins, and again wearing high-soled shoes and mask.[1] I have often heard him sing, play the herald, and act in tragedies. I have seen him in chains, hustled about as a miscreant, heavy with child, aye, in the travail of childbirth—in short, imitating all the situations of mythology by what he said and by what was said to him, by what he submitted to and by what he did.[2] Will anyone, then, style such a person Caesar and emperor and Augustus? Never! Let no one abuse those sacred titles. They were held by Augustus and by Claudius, whereas this fellow might most properly be termed Thyestes, Oedipus, Alcmeon, or Orestes; for these are the characters that he represents on the stage and it is these titles that he has assumed in place of the others. Therefore rise now at length against him; succour yourselves and succour the Romans; liberate the entire world!" A.D. 68

[1] The *κόθορνος* seems to have been worn by Nero only when singing, the *ἐμβάτης* while acting.
[2] See lxii (lxiii), 9 and note.

[5] δὲ supplied by Bk.

23 *Τοιαῦτά*[1] *τινα τοῦ Οὐίνδικος εἰπόντος ἅπαντες συνεφρόνησαν. οὐχ ἑαυτῷ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττων ὁ Οὐίνδιξ τὸν Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρουιον τὸν Σουλπίκιον ἐπιεικείᾳ τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμων διαπρέποντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχοντα, δύναμίν τε οὐ μικρὰν ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προεχειρίσατο· κἀκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνηγορεύθη.*—Xiph. 183, 3–9 R. St.

24 *Ῥοῦφος*[2] *δὲ ἄρχων τῆς Γερμανίας ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ Οὐίνδικι*[3] *πολεμήσων, γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Οὐεσοντίωνι*[4] *ταύτην ἐπολιόρκει, πρόφασιν*
2 *ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξατο αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ Οὐίνδικος πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως ἀντεπιόντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ πόρρω στρατοπεδεύσαντος ἀντεπέστειλαν μὲν ἀλλήλοις τινά, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον μόνοι καὶ μηδενός*[5] *σφισι τῶν ἄλλων παρόντος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὡς εἰκάζετο, συνέθεντο*
3 *πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ὥρμησε*

[1] Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 41, 12–19 D.): *καὶ ὥρκωσε πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιήσειν, καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἄν τι παρὰ ταῦτα πράξῃ, φονεύσειν. αὐτοκράτορα δὲ Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρουιον τὸν Σουλπίκιον προεχειρίσατο, γενόμενον ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, καὶ τότε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχοντα· καὶ ὃς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐδέξατο, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ τὰς τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐπικλήσεις προσλαβεῖν τότε.*

Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 91 Muell. v. 6–10): *πολλούς τε τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς φυγάδων προσλαβόμενος Γάλβαν ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα, ὃς τὰς δυνάμεις εὐθέως ἐξοπλίσας καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευασάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνει.*

[2] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 91 Muell. v. 10–22): *Ὁ γοῦν Νέρων, οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθείς, στρατηγὸν τοῦ πολέμου Ῥοῦφον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει· ὃς οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνασχόμενος πρὸς τὸν Γάλβαν, ὁμολογεῖ τε καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν Οὐίνδικα, αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιλεξάμενος, Οὐίνδικι δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν προσήκειν καὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ*

Such[1] words falling from the lips of Vindex met with the approval of all. Now Vindex was not working to get the imperial office for himself but selected Servius Sulpicius Galba for that position; this man was distinguished for his upright behaviour and skill in warfare, was governor of Spain, and had a military force of no small size. And he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. A.D. 68

Rufus,[2] the governor of Germany, set out to make war on Vindex; but when he reached Vesontio, he proceeded to besiege the city, for the alleged reason that it had not received him. But Vindex came to the aid of the city against him and encamped not far off, whereupon they sent messages back and forth to each other and finally held a conference by themselves at which no one else was present and came to a mutual agreement against Nero, as was conjectured. After this Vindex set out with his

[1] Cf. Zonaras: And he made them swear to do everything in the interest of the senate and the Roman people and to slay him in case he should do anything contrary to this purpose. For emperor he chose Servius Sulpicius Galba, who came of a patrician family and was at the time governor of Spain. This man accepted the power but declined to assume the imperial titles at that time.

Joann. Antioch.: And having associated with himself many of the senate who were in exile, he appointed Galba king. This man immediately armed the forces and made all his preparations for war, after which he marched upon Rome.

[2] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: At any rate, Nero, being greatly alarmed at this, sent out Rufus Gallus to conduct the war. But Rufus, not venturing even to engage in battle with Galba, came to terms and made a compact with Vindex, in which he chose to rule the Gauls himself and agreed that Spain should belong to Vindex and that Galba should receive all Italy together with the remaining provinces that owed allegiance to the Roman empire. After these terms had been

μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς τὴν πόλιν καταληψόμενος· καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιῶται προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἄντικρυς χωρεῖν, ἀντεξώρμησαν αὐτοκέλευστοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες σφίσιν ἀπροσδοκήτοις τε καὶ ἀσυν-
4[1] *τάκτοις οὖσι παμπόλλους κατέκοψαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιαλγήσας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε.*—Xiph. 183, 12–25 R. St.

4[a] *Τῆς δ' ἀποστασίας παρατεινομένης ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε, τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν κινδυνευσάντων ὑπεραλγήσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοσούτου πράγματος ὀριγνηθείς, τοῦ τὸν Νέρωνα καθελεῖν*[1] *καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλευθερῶσαι, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσεν αὐτό.*—Zon. 11, 13 (p. 41, 19–24 D.).

4 *Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατατρώσαντες, δόξαν τισὶ μάτην ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεκτονότες αὐτὸν παρέσχον.*

25 *Ῥοῦφος*[2] *δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπένθησε, τὴν*

[1] *καθελεῖν* BC[c], *καταλῖσαι* AE.

[2] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 91 Muell. v. 22–25): *ὁ γοῦν Ῥοῦφος δεινῶς ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθει ὑπεραλγήσας, καί τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν κολάσας, ἐν ἀφασίᾳ κατέστη.*

ὅσα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσυπακούειν (πρὸς ὑπακοὴν cod. Par., *πρὸς ὑπακοεῖν* cod. Esc.) *ἔθνη τυγχάνει. τούτων αὐτοῖς διομολογηθέντων, τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιβουλεύουσι τῷ Οὐίνδικι, ἀγνοίᾳ μὲν τῶν ὁμιληθέντων, ζήλῳ δὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυναστείας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Οὐίνδιξ καίτοι ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενος σωθῆναι, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ὁμοφρονούντων ἐκακώθη, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία ἀμφότεροι τῷ Νέρωνι πράττοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπώλλυσαν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου καταγνούς, καί τι πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰπών, ὅτι τοιούτου πράγματος ἀρξάμενος οὐκ ἐπλήρωσεν, ἑαυτὸν προσκατειργάσατο.*

[3] *Οὐίνδικι* R. Steph. (*βίνδικι*), *βίνδικον* VC.

[4] *Οὐεσοντίωνι* Bk., *βεσοντίωνι* VC.

[5] *μηδενός* V corr., space left in VC.

army ostensibly to occupy the town; and the soldiers A.D. 68 of Rufus, becoming aware of their approach and thinking the force was marching straight against them, marched out in their turn, on their own initiative, and falling upon them while they were off their guard and in disarray, cut down great numbers of them. Vindex on seeing this was so overcome by grief that he slew himself.

As the revolt continued, Vindex slew himself; for he felt exceedingly grieved because of the peril of his soldiers and was vexed at Fate because he had not been able to attain his goal in an undertaking of so great magnitude, namely the overthrow of Nero and the liberation of the Romans.

This is the truth of the matter; but many afterwards inflicted wounds on his body, and so gave rise to the false impression that they themselves had killed him.

Rufus[1] mourned his death greatly, but refused to

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Rufus at any rate grieved terribly over this disaster and punished some of the troops, after which he fell to brooding in silence.

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agreed upon by them, some of Rufus' troops plotted against Vindex, being ignorant of the agreement their leaders had made and eager to secure the supreme power for their general. Vindex, now, might easily have saved his life; but he was indignant and bewailed the fact that he had been injured by those who were of the same mind as he and that, although both Rufus and he were working against Nero, they were destroying each other, and he was disgusted, moreover, with this mortal life and even had something to say against Fate because, having put his hand to so great an undertaking, he had not been able to carry it through; and so he made away with himself.

δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν, καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δέξασθαι, δυνηθεὶς ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἐπιτυχὴς αὐτῆς γενέσθαι· δραστήριός τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ ἰσχὺν μεγάλην καὶ πρόθυμον εἶχε, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὰς μὲν τοῦ Νέρωνος *εἰκόνας καθεῖλον καὶ συνέτριψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ* Καίσαρα *καὶ* Αὔγουστον
2 *ὠνόμαζον. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἐνταῦθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις ἐνὶ τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων ἐπέγραψε· καὶ ὃς ἐκεῖνά τε ἀπήλειψε, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ αὐτοὺς καταστήσας ἔπεισε τὴν ἀρχὴν*[1] *ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι,*
3 *εἴτ' οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίου τοὺς στρατιώτας τινὶ τὸ κράτος διδόναι (τῇ τε γὰρ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήκειν τοῦτ' ἔλεγεν), εἴτε καὶ παντελῶς μεγαλογνωμονῶν,*[2] *ὡς οὐδὲν τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντα*[3] *ἔπραττον, καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος.*[4]—Xiph. 183, 25–184, 8 R. St.

26 Ὅτι ὁ Νέρων *μαθὼν τὰ κατὰ τὸν* Οὐίνδικα *ἐν* Νέᾳ *πόλει τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπ' ἀρίστου θεωρῶν, οὐκ ἐλυπήθη, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσας ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας ἀθλητῇ τινὶ συνεσπούδασεν· οὐδὲ*[5] *ἐς τὴν* Ῥώμην *ἠπείχθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα ἁπλῶς τῇ βουλῇ πέμψας παρῃτήσατο ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, λέγων βραγχᾶν, καθάπερ τι ᾆσαι καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς*
2 *δεόμενος. καὶ τήν γε αὐτὴν φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τε φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ᾀσμάτων τῶν τε κιθαρισμάτων, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ οὔτε τι ἐξ ἐκείνων*

[1] *τὴν ἀρχὴν* supplied by Reim.
[2] *μεγαλογνωμονῶν* Reim., *μεγαλογνωμῶν* VC.
[3] *πάντα* Sylb., *πάντες* VC.

accept the office of emperor, although his soldiers A.D. 68
frequently urged it upon him and he might easily have obtained it. For he was an energetic man and had a large and zealous military force, and his soldiers threw down and shattered the images of Nero and called Rufus by the titles of Caesar and Augustus. When he would not heed them, one of the soldiers thereupon quickly inscribed these words on one of his standards. He erased the words, however, and after a deal of trouble brought the men to order and persuaded them to submit the question of the throne to the senate and the people. It is hard to say whether this was merely because he did not deem it right for the soldiers to bestow the supreme power upon anyone (for he declared this to be the prerogative of the senate and the people), or because he was entirely high-minded and felt no desire himself for the imperial office, to secure which others were willing to do anything and everything.

Nero was informed of the uprising of Vindex as he was viewing the gymnastic contest in Neapolis just after luncheon; but, far from showing any grief, he leaped down from his seat and vied in prowess with some athlete. Nor did he hurry back to Rome, but merely sent a letter to the senate, in which he asked them to excuse him for not coming, pleading a sore throat, implying that he would like, even at this crisis, to sing to them. And he continued to devote the same care and attention to his voice, to his songs, and to his lyre-playing, not only at that juncture but also later. Because of this he would

[4] *καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος* V corr. (*δευμενος*), . . . *μενος* VC.
[5] *οὐδὲ* Bk., *οὔτε* cod. Peir.

ἐξέκραξεν, εἴ τε καὶ ἠναγκάσθη τι οἷα ἐν τοιούτοις ὢν ἐκβοῆσαι, εὐθύς τις αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ κιθαρῳδήσειν μέλλοντα ἀνεχαίτιζεν καὶ ἀνελάμβανεν.—Exc. Val. 257ᵃ (p. 694).

23, 2 *Λέγεται*[1] *δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Νέρωνος διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐπικηρύξαντος τῷ Οὐίνδικι*[2] *ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔφη ὅτι "ὁ Νέρωνα ἀποκτείνας τήν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κομίσας μοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἀντιλήψεται." τοιοῦτος μέν τις ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἐγένετο.*—Xiph. 183, 9–12 R. St.

26, 3 *Τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰώθει ὁμοίως ἐποίει, χαίρων τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις ὅτι ἄλλως τε κατακρατήσειν τοῦ Οὐίνδικος ἤλπιζεν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ἀργυρισμοῦ καὶ φόνων εἰληφέναι ἐδόκει. καὶ ἐτρύφα, καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαβίνης ἡρῷον ἐκποιηθὲν καὶ κοσμηθὲν λαμπρῶς ὡσίωσεν, ἐπιγράψας αὐτῷ ὅτι Σαβίνῃ*
4 *αὐτὸ θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐποίησαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠλήθευσεν· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσεσύλητο ἐξειργάσθη· συχνὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἤθυρεν, ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, ἓν δὲ εἴπω. νύκτωρ ποτὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐξαπίνης σπουδῇ, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων τι κοι-*

[1] Cf. Petr. Patr. (*exc. Vat.* 76, p. 215 Mai = p. 197, 4–11 Dind.): *ὅτι ἡ γερουσία μαθοῦσα τοῦτο τὸ περὶ τοῦ Βίνδικος καὶ Γάλβα πάντα τὰ εἰωθότα ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζουσι κατὰ Βίνδικος ἐψηφίζετο· ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ Νέρων τῷ ἀναιροῦντι τὸν Βίνδικα καὶ κομίζοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐπιδώσειν δραχμῶν· ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ Βίνδιξ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ὅτι· "ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ φέροντι τὴν κεφαλὴν Δομιτίου τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀντιδίδωμι."*

[2] *τῷ Οὐίνδικι* Rk., *τῷ βίνδικον* VC, *τῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ κομίσοντι τοῦ Οὐίνδικος* Zon.

not utter a word in a loud voice, and if he was at any time compelled by the circumstances in which he now found himself to shout out anything, yet somebody would promptly remind him that he was to sing to the lyre and would thus curb and control him. A.D. 68

It[1] is stated that when Nero set a price of ten million sesterces upon the head of Vindex, the latter upon hearing it remarked: "The one who kills Nero and brings his head to me shall get mine in return." That was the sort of man Vindex was.

In general, Nero still behaved in his accustomed manner and he was pleased with the news brought him, because he was expecting in any event to overcome Vindex and thought he had now secured a ground for levies of money and murders. He continued his luxurious practices; and upon the completion and adornment of the shrine of Sabina he gave it a brilliant dedication, having first inscribed upon it the statement that the women had built it to the deified Sabina, Venus. Now in this matter he told the truth, since the building had been constructed with money of which a great part had been stolen from the women; but he also had his numerous little jokes, of which I will mention only one, omitting the rest. One night he suddenly summoned in haste the foremost senators and knights, as if to make some communication to

[1] Cf. Petrus Patricius: The senate, learning of the course of Vindex and Galba, passed against Vindex all the usual decrees against rebels, and Nero offered a reward of ten million sesterces to the one who should slay Vindex and bring his head to him. Vindex, on learning of this, replied to his informants: "And for my part, to the one who brings the head of Domitius I offer my own in exchange for it."

νώσων σφίσι, μεταπέμψας "ἐξεύρηκα" ἔφη "πῶς ἡ ὕδραυλις" (αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ῥηθὲν γραφήσεται)
5 *"καὶ μεῖζον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον φθέγξεται." τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ τότε ἔπαιζεν,*[1] *οὐδὲ ἔμελεν*[2] *αὐτῷ ὅτι αἱ θύραι ἀμφότεραι, αἵ τε τοῦ μνημείου τοῦ Αὐγουστείου καὶ αἱ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ ἐκείνου, αὐτόμαται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἀνεῴχθησαν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τοσούτῳ δή τινι αἵματι ὗσεν ὥστε καὶ ποταμοὺς ῥυῆναι, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπαναχωρήσασα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ θάλασσα*
27 *μέρος μέγα τῆς Λυκίας κατέλαβεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ περί τε τοῦ Γάλβα ἤκουσεν ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνερρήθη,*[3] *περί τε τοῦ Ῥούφου ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη, ἐν δέει τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους Ῥούβριον Γάλλον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἔπεμψεν.*—Exc. Val. 257ᵇ, Xiph. 184, 8–23 R. St.

1ª *Ὁ δὲ Νέρων μαθὼν καὶ τὸν Πετρώνιον, ὃν κατὰ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος προεπεπόμφει στρατεύματος, τὰ τοῦ Γάλβου φρονήσαντα, οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα τῶν ὅπλων ἔσχεν.*—Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 1–4 D.

2 *Ὑπὸ πάντων δὲ ὁμοίως ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν*[4] *τούς τε βουλευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι*[5] *ἔς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλεῦσαι, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι "ἂν καὶ*[6] *ἐκ*[7] *τῆς ἀρχῆς*

[1] ἔπαιζεν cod. Peir., ηθυρε VC.
[2] ἔμελεν R. Steph., ἔμελλεν VC.
[3] ἀνερρήθη Bk., ἀνηρέθη VC.
[4] ὑπὸ πάντων—μὲν VC, ὅτι ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων ὁ Νέρων ἔγνω cod. Peir., καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων τέλος ἔγνω Joann. Ant.

them regarding the political situation, and then said A.D. 68
to them (I quote his exact words): "I have discovered a way by which the water-organ will produce louder and more musical tones." In such jests did he indulge even at this crisis. And little did he reck that both sets of doors, those of the mausoleum of Augustus and those of his own bedchamber, opened of their own accord on one and the same night, or that in the Alban territory it rained so much blood that rivers of it flowed over the land, or that the sea retreated a long distance from Egypt and covered a great portion of Lycia. But when he heard about Galba having been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers and about the desertion of Rufus, he fell into great fear, and not only made preparations himself at Rome, but also sent against the rebels Rubrius Gallus and some others.

On learning that Petronius,[1] whom he had sent ahead against the rebels with the larger portion of the army, had also espoused the cause of Galba, Nero reposed no further hope in arms.

Now that he had been abandoned by everybody alike,[2] he began forming plans to kill the senators, burn down the city,[3] and sail to Alexandria. He dropped this hint in regard to his future course: "Even though we be driven from our empire, yet

[1] P. Petronius Turpilianus.

[2] Cf. Joann. Antioch. and Exc. Val.: When one advised one thing and another another, Nero finally decided to kill, etc.

[3] Joann. Antioch. adds "by night."

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[5] καταπρῆσαι cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., καταπρῆσαι νύκτωρ Joann. Antioch.

[6] ἂν καὶ Xiph. cod. Peir. Zon., κἂν exc. Vat. Antioch.

[7] ἐκ cod. Peir. exc. Vat., om. Xiph. Zon.

ἐκπέσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τό γε τέχνιον ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ διαθρέψει" ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνοίας ἐληλύθει ὥστε καὶ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι ἄλλως τε ἰδιωτεῦσαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ κιθαρῳδεῖν δυνήσεται.—Xiph. 184, 23–28 R. St., Exc. Val. 258 (p. 696).

2b Μέλλοντος[1] δὲ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἡ βουλὴ τὴν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα φρουρὰν ἀποκαλέσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸν μὲν πολέμιον ἀπέφηνε, τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀνθείλετο αὐτοκράτορα.—Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 8–11 D.

3 Ἐπεὶ[2] δὲ ᾔσθετο ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐγκαταλέλειπται (ἐν κήποις δέ τισιν[3] ἐτύγχανε καθεύδων), φυγεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. ἐσθῆτά τε οὖν φαύλην ἔλαβε[4] καὶ ἐπὶ ἵππον οὐδὲν βελτίονα ἀνέβη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατακεκαλυμμένος πρὸς χωρίον τι Φάωνος Καισαρείου, μετά τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ μετὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τοῦ τε
28 Σπόρου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης[5] ἤλασε. καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσοντος σεισμὸς ἐξαίσιος ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ δόκησιν παρασχεῖν ὅτι ἥ τε γῆ πᾶσα διαρρήγνυται καὶ αἱ τῶν πεφονευμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ψυχαὶ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναθορ-

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 91 Muell. v. 25–35): *οἱ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἳ τὴν βασίλειον φρουροῦσι αὐλὴν προσδιαλεχθέντες, πείθουσί τε αὐτοὺς ἅμα γενέσθαι, καὶ μεταποιήσασθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῆς τῶν βουλευσάντων ἐγένοντο γνώμης, αὐτίκα μὲν τὸν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔπαρχον Σκιπουλὸν ἀναιροῦσιν, ἀφίστανται δὲ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρουρᾶς.*

[2] Cf. Joann. Ant. (*fr.* 91, v. 35–38): *ὁ δὲ Νέρων ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων κατελείφθη, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ἵνα τὴν αἰσχύνην κερδάνῃ, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐπεχείρησε, πρότερον κεραυνωθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς τραπέζης.*

[3] *τισιν* Sylb., *τις* VC.

this little talent shall support us there." To such a pitch of folly, indeed, had he come as to believe that he could live for a moment as a private citizen and especially as a lyre-player. A.D. 68

He[1] was on the point of putting these measures into effect when the senate withdrew the guard that surrounded him and then, entering the camp, declared him an enemy and chose Galba as emperor in his place.

But[2] when he perceived that he had been deserted also by his body-guards (he happened to be sleeping in a certain garden), he undertook to flee. Accordingly, he put on shabby clothing, mounted a horse no better than his attire, and with his head covered he rode while it was yet night towards an estate of Phaon, an imperial freedman, in company with Phaon himself, Epaphroditus and Sporus. While he was on the way a terrible earthquake occurred, so that one might have thought the whole world was bursting asunder and all the spirits of those murdered by him were leaping up to assail him.

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: The members of the senate upon hearing this held conversations with the Praetorians and the other troops that guard the royal court and persuaded them to join with them and lay claim to the Roman dominion. And when these troops also fell in with the plan of the senators, they straightway slew Scipulus, the prefect of the camp, and deserted their post as guardians of the king.

[2] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Nero, when he was deserted also by his body-guards, did not have the courage to kill himself, so that he might avoid the shame, but undertook to flee, after his table had been struck by a thunderbolt.

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[4] ἔλαβε VC, ἐνέδυ Zon. (cf. ἐνδυσάμενος Joann Ant.).
[5] ἔτι οὔσης Bs., ἐπιούσης VC.

νύουσι. γνωρισθεὶς οὖν καὶ ὣς ὑπό τινος, ὥς φασι, τῶν ἀπαντησάντων καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ προσαγορευθείς, ἔκ τε τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπετράπη καὶ ἐς
2 καλαμώδη τόπον τινὰ κατεκρύφθη. καὶ ἐνταῦθα μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν ἐρριμμένος, ὅπως ὡς ἥκιστα διορῷτο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὸν παριόντα[1] ὡς καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἥκοντα ὑποπτεύων, πᾶσαν δὲ φωνὴν ὡς καὶ ἀναζητοῦσαν αὑτὸν[2] ὑποτρέμων, εἴ τέ που κυνίδιον ὕλαξεν ἢ καὶ ὀρνίθιον ἐφθέγξατο ῥωπίον τε καὶ κλάδος ὑπ'
3 αὔρας ἐσείσθη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, καὶ οὔθ' ἡσυχάζειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο, οὔτ' αὖ λαλεῖν τινὶ τῶν παρόντων, μὴ καὶ ἕτερός τις ἀκούσῃ, ἐτόλμα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν τύχην[3] καὶ ἐθρήνει καὶ ὠλοφύρετο. ἐλογίζετο γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ προσέτι ὅτι πολυανθρωποτάτῃ ποτὲ θεραπείᾳ γαυρωθεὶς μετὰ τριῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἐκύπταζε.
4 τοιοῦτον γὰρ δρᾶμα τότε τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηκέτι τοὺς ἄλλους μητροφόνους καὶ ἀλήτας ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποκρίνηται· καὶ τότε μετεγίνωσκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐτετολμήκει, καθάπερ ἄπρακτόν τι αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι
5 δυνάμενος. Νέρων μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐτραγῴδει, καὶ τὸ ἔπος ἐκεῖνο συνεχῶς ἐνενόει,

"οἰκτρῶς θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος πατήρ."

ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀναζητῶν ἑωρᾶτο, μετῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἄντρον, κἀνταῦθα καὶ ἔφαγε πεινήσας ἄρτον ὁποῖον οὐδεπώποτε ἐβεβρώκει, καὶ ἔπιε διψήσας ὕδωρ ὁποῖον οὐδεπώ-

[1] παριόντα Sylb., παρόντα VC.
[2] αὑτὸν Bk., αὐτὸν VC.

Being recognized, they say, in spite of his disguise, and saluted as emperor by someone who met him, he turned aside from the road and hid himself in a place full of reeds. There he waited till daylight, lying flat on the ground so as to run the least risk of being seen. Everyone who passed he suspected had come for him; he started at every voice, thinking it to be that of someone searching for him; if a dog barked anywhere or a bird chirped, or a bush or branch was shaken by the breeze, he was greatly excited. These sounds permitted him no rest, and he dared not speak a word to any one of those that were with him for fear someone else might hear; but to himself he lamented and bewailed his fate, considering among other things how he had once prided himself on so vast a retinue and was now skulking out of sight in company with three freedmen. Such was the drama that Fate now prepared for him, so that he should no longer play the rôles of other matricides and beggars, but only his own at last, and he now repented of his past deeds of outrage, as if he could undo any of them. Such was the tragic part that Nero now played, and this verse constantly ran through his mind: A.D. 68

"Both spouse and father bid me cruelly die." [2]

After a long time, as no one was seen to be searching for him, he went over into the cave, where in his hunger he ate bread such as he had never before tasted and in his thirst drank water such as he

[1] From an unknown tragedy, the speaker being Oedipus; cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2], p. 839, Adesp. 8.

[3] τὴν τύχην Rk., τῇ ψύχῃ VC.

ποτε ἐπεπώκει.[1] *ἐφ' ᾧ δυσανασχετήσας εἶπε "τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτὸν τὸ ἐμὸν τὸ ἄπεφθον."*[2]—Xiph. 184, 28–185, 26 R. St.

29 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐβουθύτει καὶ ὑπερέχαιρε καὶ τινες καὶ πιλία[3] ὡς ἠλευθερωμένοι ἔφερον. καὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὰ τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ἐψηφίσαντο.[4]

Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐποιοῦντο,[5] καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἠπόρησαν ὅπου ποτὲ ἀπεληλυθὼς εἴη, ἔπειτα μαθόντες ἔπεμψαν
2 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱππέας. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος προσιόντας

[1] *ἐπεπώκει* H. Steph., *πεπώκει* C, *πέπωκεν* V.
[2] *ἄπεφθον* Reim. following Sylb. (*ἄφεπτον*), *ἄφθονον* VC.
[3] *πιλία* Zon. Cedr., *πόλια* cod. Paris. 1712, *πίλα* VC.
[4] Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 42, 10–20 D.): *ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὑπερέχαιρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν στεφανωμάτων ἐπλήρωσαν καί τινες καὶ πιλία ὡς ἠλευθερωμένοι ἔφερον. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ἐψηφίσατο. ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος εἴς τε τὸν Νέρωνα ἀπέσκωπτον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθέντων φονεύοντες εἷλκον.*
Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 91 M. v. 74–77; 92 M. v. 56–60): *καὶ ἡ πόλις στεφανώμασι καὶ δᾳδουχίαις ἐκεκόσμητο* (*ἐκεκόσμητο* Bs., *κεκόσμητε* cod. Par., *διακεκόσμηται* cod. Esc.), *εὐχάς τε ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπετέλουν, καὶ τούς τι δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τοῦ τυράννου φονεύοντες εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας κατασπῶντες ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αἰκίζοντες διετέλουν. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀνειποῦσα. δοῦναι δίκας τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμαρτημένων τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον ἐψηφίσατο· ἀχθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον γυμνὸν κεραίας ἐπιβεβλημένης τῷ τραχήλῳ προστάττεται, μετὰ δὲ σφοδρὸν αἰκισμὸν τοῦ σώματος ὠσθῆναι κατά τινος πέτρας.*
[5] Zonaras supplies the subject *οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἄλλοι.*

had never drunk before. This gave him such a qualm that he said: "So this is my famous cold drink!"[1] A.D. 68

While he was in this plight the Roman people were offering sacrifices and going wild with delight. Some even wore liberty caps, signifying that they had now become free. And they voted to Galba the prerogatives pertaining to the imperial office.[2]

For Nero himself they[3] instituted a search in all directions and for some time were at a loss to know where he could have betaken himself. When they finally learned, they sent horsemen against him. He, then, perceiving that they were drawing

[1] Called *decocta*. It was water that had first been boiled, then cooled by being placed in a glass vessel and plunged into snow. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvi. 40) states that Nero was the first to cool the water in this manner.

[2] Cf. Zonaras: But the people in Rome, when day came, were wild with delight and filled the city with garlands, and some even wore liberty caps, signifying that they had now become free. And the senate voted to Galba the prerogatives belonging to the throne. The populace jeered at Nero and slew and dragged away the bodies of many of those who had been powerful with him.

Joann. Antioch.: And the city was gay with garlands and torches and the people were offering prayers and holding celebrations of genuine thanksgiving. They proceeded to kill those who had been powerful under the tyrant and to pull down his images and statues, as if they were thereby mishandling the despot himself. The Roman senate declared him an enemy and decreed that he should pay the penalty imposed on those who have committed high crimes while in office, which was of the following nature. It is prescribed that the culprit shall be led to the prison naked with a forked stick fastened about his neck, and then, after his body has been soundly flogged, he shall be hurled down from a rock.

[3] Zonaras says "the soldiers and others."

αὐτοὺς αἰσθόμενος[1] προσέταξε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἑαυτὸν[2] ἀποκτεῖναι. ἐπεί τε οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀνεστέναξέ τε καὶ ἔφη "ἐγὼ μόνος οὔτε φίλον οὔτε ἐχθρὸν ἔχω."[3] κἀν τούτῳ πελασάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐκεῖνο εἰπών, "ὦ Ζεῦ, οἷος τεχνίτης παραπόλλυμαι." καὶ αὐτὸν δυσθανατοῦντα ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος προσκατειργάσατο.

3 Ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ἀφ' ὧν ἦρξεν ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ,[4] ἔσχατος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γεγονότων, καθάπερ[5] που σαφῶς καὶ αἱ δάφναι

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 92 M. v. 60–62): ἃ δὴ προαισθόμενος ὁ Νέρων, τούς τε χωροῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταδείσας, προσέταξε κτέ.

[2] ἑαυτὸν Xiph., καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ σφᾶς Zon., καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς Joann. Ant.

[3] Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 42, 20–22 D.): ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, μέγα ἐστέναξεν. εἶτα τὸν Σπόρον ἀνελεῖν θελήσας καὶ μὴ δυνηθείς, "ἐγὼ μόνος" ἔφη κτέ.
Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 92 M. v. 62–74): ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, τὸ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐτόλμων, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ προεφασίσαντο, δεινῶς ἀλγήσας ἐστέναξεν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐδύνατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν Σπόρον βουληθεὶς ἀποκτεῖναι διήμαρτεν, ἀποφυγόντος ἐκείνου. τότε ἔφη· "ἐγὼ" κτέ.

[4] Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 43, 1–6 D.): ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτω κατὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐτελεύτησε μῆνα βιοὺς ἔτη τριάκοντα πρὸς μησὶ πέντε καὶ ἡμέραις εἴκοσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἦρξεν ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν δέοντας.
Cf. Joann. Antioch (*fr.* 92 M. v. 70–74): καὶ ὁ μὲν Νέρων φὺς ἄριστα καὶ τραφεὶς κάκιστα οὕτως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσε, λ' μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὠδῖνος γεγονὼς ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ ιδ' δυεῖν μηνῶν ἀποδέοντα.

[5] καθάπερ Sylb., εἴπερ V, καίπερ C.

near,[1] commanded his companions to kill him.[2] And A.D. 68
when they refused, he uttered a groan and said[3]: "I alone have neither friend nor foe." By this time the horsemen were close at hand, and so he killed himself, after uttering that oft-quoted remark: "Jupiter, what an artist perishes in me!" And as he lingered in his agony, Epaphroditus dealt him the finishing stroke.

He[4] had lived thirty years and nine months,[5] out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months. Of the descendants of Aeneas and of Augustus he was the last, as was plainly indicated

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Nero, becoming aware of this [the punishment decreed by the senate] beforehand and fearing those who were coming against him, commanded, etc.

[2] Zonaras and Joann. Antioch. have "both him and themselves."

[3] Zonaras: And when they refused, he uttered a loud groan. Then, wishing to destroy Sporus and being unable to do so, he said.

Joann. Antioch.: And when they refused, both lacking the courage and also urging as an excuse the duty of burying him, he was greatly distressed and groaned because he was unable to do anything. Afterwards he desired to kill Sporus, but failing of his purpose, owing to the other's flight, he then said.

[4] Zonaras: So he died in this manner in the month of July [an error for June], having lived thirty years, five months and twenty days, out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months, lacking two days.

Joann. Antioch.: Nero, then, who was born to the highest station but was reared in the basest manner, was thus driven from the throne, having lived thirty years from the date of his birth and having reigned fourteen years lacking two months.

[5] Thirty years, five months and twenty-five (or twenty-six) days was probably Dio's reading. Nero was born Dec. 15, A.D. 37, and perished apparently on the 9th of June, 68. Zonaras' estimate of the length of his reign will then be correct, counting (inclusively) from Oct. 13, 54.

αἱ ὑπὸ τῆς Λιουίας φυτευθεῖσαι τό τε γένος τῶν λευκῶν ὀρνίθων προδιαφθαρέντα αὐτοῦ ἐσήμανεν.—Xiph. 185, 27–186, 10 R. St.

4 *Ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἀνέλπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐγχείρησις τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τηλικαύτῃ γενομένῃ ταραχῇ.*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 79 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 197, 22, 23 Dind.).

5 *Ὅτι ὁ Ῥοῦφος πρὸς Γάλβαν ἦλθε, καὶ παρὰ μὲν ἐκε ίνου οὐδὲν ὅ τι ἄξιον εἰπεῖν εὕρετο, εἰ μή τις αὐτὸ τοῦτ'*[1] *ἐκλογίσαιτο ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοκράτωρ ὀνομασθεὶς ἔζησε· παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ μεῖζον ἢ εἴπερ ὑπεδέδεκτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐκτήσατο, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν.*—Exc. Val. 259 (p. 697).

6 *Γάλβας δ', ἐπεὶ ὅ τε Νέρων διέφθαρτο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν ἀρχήν οἱ ἐψηφίσατο καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος ἀνέλαβεν ὄνομα πρὶν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν γράμμα ἐνεγεγράφει.*—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 10–15 D.

LXIV 1 *Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Γάλβας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀπεδείχθη, ὥσπερ που προεῖπε μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, φήσας ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἡγεμονίας παραγεύσεται, προεῖπε δὲ καὶ σημεῖα ἐναργέ-*
2 *στατα. τήν τε γὰρ Τύχην ἐ[illegible] αὐτῷ*[2] *λέγειν ὅτι χρόνον ἤδη συχνὸν αὐτῷ παρ[illegible]μένοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσδέχοιτο, καὶ δὴ ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον εἰρχθῇ, πρὸς ἕτερόν τινα μεταστήσεται· καὶ πλοῖα ὅπλων μεστὰ πρὸς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπ' αὐτὰς ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόματα, μηδενὸς*

by the fact that the laurels planted by Livia and the breed of white chickens [1] perished shortly before his death. A.D. 68

There was no one who might not hope to lay hands on the sovereignty in a time of so great confusion.

Rufus came to Galba and could obtain from him no favour of any importance, unless one reckons it as such that a man who had frequently been hailed as emperor was allowed to live. Among the rest of mankind, however, he had acquired a great name, greater, in fact, than if he had accepted the sovereignty, for refusing to receive it.

Galba, now that Nero had been destroyed and the senate had voted him the imperial power and Rufus had joined him, plucked up courage. He did not adopt the name Caesar, however, until the senate's envoys had come to him. In fact, he had not hitherto even styled himself emperor in any communication.

Thus Galba was declared emperor, just as Tiberius had foretold when he said to him that he also should have a taste of the sovereignty.[2] The event was likewise foretold by unmistakable omens. For it seemed to him in a vision that Fortune told him that she had now remained by him for a long time, yet no one would grant her admission into his house, and that, if she should be barred out much longer, she would take up her abode with somebody else. At about this very time, also, ships full of weapons under the guidance of no human hand came to

[1] See xlviii. 52.
[2] See lvii. 19.

[1] τοῦτ' Val., ταῦτ' cod. [2] αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC.

3 ἀνθρώπων ἄγοντος αὐτά, προσωρμίσθη. ἡμίονός
τε ἔτεκεν, ὅπερ αὐτῷ σύμβολον τοῦ κράτους
ἔσεσθαι ἐτεθέσπιστο. καὶ παῖς λιβανωτὸν αὐτῷ
θύοντι προσφέρων πολιὰς ἐξαίφνης ἔφυσεν, καὶ
οἱ μάντεις τὴν τοῦ νεωτέρου ἀρχὴν πρὸς τὸ γῆρας
αὐτοῦ μεταστήσεσθαι ἔφησαν.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ φέροντα
προεδείχθη· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἦρχε
καὶ ἀνεπαχθὴς ἦν, νομίζων οὐκ εἰληφέναι τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ (τοῦτο γὰρ συνεχῶς
ἔλεγε), πλὴν ὅτι χρήματά τε[1] ἀπλήστως, ἅτε
καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἤθροιζε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
ἐλάχιστα ἀνήλισκεν, ὥστε μηδὲ δραχμὰς ἔστιν
οἷς ἀλλ' ὀβολοὺς χαρίζεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι
2 αὐτοῦ πάμπολλα ἐπλημμέλουν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς
ἐκεῖνον αὐτὰ ἀναφέρεσθαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις
ἀπόχρη μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ τὰς ἡγεμονίας
ἔχουσιν ἀνάγκη προνοεῖν ὅπως μηδ' ἄλλος κα-
κουργῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ διαφέρει τι τοῖς κακῶς
3 πάσχουσιν ὑφ' ὅτου ἂν καὶ κακῶνται. ὥστ' εἰ
καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τι δεινὸν ποιεῖν ὁ Γάλβας ἦν, ἀλλ'
ὅτι ἐκείνοις ἀδικεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν ἢ ὅτι ἠγνόει τὰ
γινόμενα, οὐ καλῶς ἤκουε. Νυμφίδιος δέ τις
καὶ Καπίτων οὕτως ἐξεφρόνησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὥστε
ὁ Καπίτων, ἐφέντος τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποτε δικά-
ζοντος, μετεπήδησε τε ἐπὶ δίφρον ὑψηλὸν καὶ
ἔφη "λέγε τὴν δίκην παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι,"

[1] τε, Bk., γε VC.

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[1] Literally obols.

anchor off the coast of Spain. And a mule brought forth young, an event which, as had been foretold, was to be a sign to him of the supreme power. Again, the hair of a boy who was bringing him incense when he was offering sacrifice suddenly turned white, whereupon the seers declared that the sovereignty held by the younger man should be transferred to the old age of Galba. A.D. 68

These, then, were the signs that appeared beforehand pointing to his sovereignty. As for Galba himself, his rule was in most respects moderate and free from offence, for he considered that he had not seized the power but that it had been given to him (indeed, he was constantly making this statement), but he collected money insatiably, since he required much, and spent of it very little, sometimes giving people as presents, not denarii, but sesterces[1]; his freedmen, however, committed many offences, the responsibility for which was laid at his door. For, whereas it is enough for ordinary citizens to abstain from wrong-doing, those, on the other hand, who hold positions of command must see to it that no one else does any mischief, either. For it makes no difference to those who are wronged at whose hands they suffer the injury. Hence it was that, though Galba was not guilty of any violence, he was nevertheless ill spoken of because he allowed these others to do wrong, or else was ignorant of what was going on. A certain Nymphidius and Capito quite lost their heads as the result of this weakness of his. Capito, for instance, when one day a man appealed a case from his jurisdiction, changed his seat to a high chair and then said: "Now plead your case before Caesar." He then passed sentence and

διαγνούς τε ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. τούτοις μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Γάλβας *ἐπεξῆλθεν.*

3 *Ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασε τῇ πόλει, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ δορυφόροι τοῦ* Νέρωνος, *καὶ ἠξίουν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στρατείᾳ φυλαχθῆναι. καὶ ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα*
2 *ἀνεβάλετο ὡς καὶ σκεψόμενος περὶ τούτου, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν, ἐφῆκέ σφισι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεκατευθέντες. οὕτως, εἰ καὶ*[1] *τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῇ τε νόσῳ ἐκεκμήκει, ἀλλὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἤκμαζεν, οὐδ' ἠξίου*
3 *τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγκαζόμενόν τι ποιεῖν. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῖς δορυφόροις ἀπαιτοῦσι*[2] *τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετο ὁ* Νυμφίδιος,[3] *οὐκ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔφη γε ὅτι "καταλέγειν στρατιώτας ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγοράζειν εἴωθα." τῷ δὲ δήμῳ σφόδρα ἀξιοῦντι τόν τε* Τιγελλῖνον *καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πρότερον ὑβρισάντων ἀποθανεῖν οὐχ ὑπεῖξε, τάχα ἂν ἀποκτείνας αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτ' ᾐτήκεσαν.*
4¹ *τὸν μέντοι* Ἥλιον *καὶ τὸν* Νάρκισσον *τόν τε* Πατρόβιον *καὶ τὴν* Λουκοῦσταν *τὴν φαρμακίδα καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ* Νέρωνος *ἐπιπολασάντων κατά τε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν δεδεμένους περιαχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κολασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε.* —Xiph. 186, 17–187, 31 R. St., Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 80 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 198, 8–10 Dind.).

4ª Καὶ *οἱ δοῦλοι οἱ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν πράξαντές τι ἢ εἰπόντες αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παρεδόθησαν.*—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 15–19 D.

put the man to death. For this conduct Galba punished the men I have named. A.D. 68

As he drew near the City, the guards of Nero met him and asked to be retained in the same service. At first he put them off, ostensibly to take the matter under advisement; and when they would not listen to this but kept up a disturbance, he sent the army against them. As a result about seven thousand of them perished on the spot and the survivors were later decimated. This shows that even if Galba was bowed down with age and disease, yet his mind was vigorous and he did not believe that an emperor should submit to compulsion in anything. Further proof is found in the fact that when the Praetorians demanded of him the money that Nymphidius had promised them, he would not give it, but replied: "I am accustomed to levy soldiers, not to buy them." And when the populace insistently demanded that Tigellinus and certain others who had lately been so insolent should be put to death, he did not yield, though he would probably have killed them if their enemies had not made this demand. In the case, however, of Helius, Narcissus, Patrobius, Lucusta, the sorceress, and others of the scum that had come to the surface in Nero's day, he ordered them to be led in chains throughout the whole city and then to be executed.

The slaves, likewise, who had been guilty of any act or word against their masters were handed over to these very masters for punishment.

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[1] εἰ καὶ R. Steph., εἰκὼν VC.
[2] ἀπαιτοῦσι exc. Vat., αἰτοῦσι Xiph.
[3] ἃ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Νυμφίδιος Petr. Patr., om. Xiph.

4[b] Ὅτι τινὲς τῶν ἰδίων δούλων κατεφρόνησαν βουλόμενοι κακῶν δούλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 81 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 198, 11, 12 Dind.).

4[c] Καὶ τὰ χρήματα δὲ καὶ τὰ κτήματα ὅσα τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰλήφεσαν ἀπητεῖτο. τούς γε μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου φυγαδευθέντας ὡς ἠσεβηκότας τι εἰς αὐτὸν κατήγαγε, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους σφαγέντων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημεῖον μετεκόμισε, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀποκατέστησεν.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 19–25 D.

4 Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις ἐπῃνεῖτο, ὅτι δὲ ξίφος μέγα διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξηρτᾶτο καὶ γέρων καὶ ἀσθενὴς τὰ νεῦρα ὤν, καὶ πάνυ πολὺν γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανε.

4 Λέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος συνέβη. οἱ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις στρατιῶται, οὓς εἶχε Ῥοῦφος, μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα εὑρόμενοι[1] ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐφλέγμηναν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ τέλους τῆς ἐπιθυμίας σφῶν ἁμαρτόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥούφου, ἐζήτουν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ἀποπληρῶσαι, καὶ
2 ἐποίησαν τοῦτο· προστησάμενοι γὰρ Αὖλον Οὐιτέλλιον[2] τῆς κάτω Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα ἐπανέστησαν, πρὸς μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτοῦ ἀπιδόντες, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε παιδικὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὅτι ἀκολούθως τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ ταύτῃ ἔζη οὐκ ἐνενόησαν, ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἁρμόζειν
3 σφίσιν αὐτὸν ἐνόμισαν. ἀμέλει οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἔκρινεν εἶναι ὥστε διασκώπτων τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τεκμηρίῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐχρῆτο, λέγων ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἐπίστανται οἵ γε καὶ

[1] εὑρόμενοι Bs., εὑράμενοι VC.

Some disdained to receive their own slaves, A.D. 68
wishing to be rid of rascally slaves.

Galba demanded the return of all gifts of money or property that any persons had received from Nero. Moreover, he restored all those who had been exiled by his predecessor on the charge of *maiestas* against the emperor, and he also transferred to the mausoleum of Augustus the bones of members of the imperial family who had been murdered, and he once more set up their images.

For these acts he was praised ; on the other hand, he provoked much merriment by wearing a large sword at his side during the entire march, old and weak of sinew as he was.

I shall relate also how he met his end. The A.D. 69
soldiers in the Germanies who had been under the command of Rufus became more and more exasperated because they could not obtain any favours from Galba. Having failed to secure the object of their desire under Rufus, they sought to obtain it under some other leader ; and in this they succeeded. They placed Aulus Vitellius, governor of Lower Germany, at their head, and revolted. All that they had regard to in him was his noble birth, for they ignored the fact that he had been a favourite of Tiberius and was living a life in keeping with that licentious beginning; or perhaps they believed that on this very account he would suit their purposes all the better. Vitellius himself, for that matter, held himself as of so little account that he scoffed at the astrologers and used their prediction as evidence against them, saying: "Certainly they know nothing when they declare

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[1] Οὐιτέλλιον Zon. A., οὐιτέλιον Zon. BC(E)[c], βιτέλιον VC (always).

*ἐμὲ αὐτοκράτορά φασι γενήσεσθαι." καὶ αὐτὸ
καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε καὶ κατεφρόνησεν
αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάσασθαι.*
5 *Ὁ οὖν Γάλβας τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πυθό-
μενος Λούκιον Πίσωνα,[1] νεανίσκον εὐγενῆ ἐπιεικῆ*
2 *φρόνιμον, ἐποιήσατο καὶ Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξεν. ὁ
δὲ δὴ Ὄθων[2] ὁ[3] Μᾶρκος ὁ Σάλουιος, ἀγανακτήσας
ὅτι[4] μὴ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα ἐπεποίητο, ἀρχὴν
αὖθις μυρίων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶν παρέσχε.
καὶ οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐτιμᾶτο ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπέθανε, θυομένῳ[5] τι αὐτῷ μόνος
τῶν βουλευτῶν παρέστη· ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ*
3 *μάλιστα συνετύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἱερόπτης
ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι αὐτὸν ἔφη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
αὐτὸν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς προελθεῖν παρῄνεσεν,[6]
ἀκούσας τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος κατέδραμέ τε εὐθὺς ὡς καὶ
ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπό τινων στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγων,
οἳ συνωμωμόκεσαν[7] αὐτῷ, ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσήχθη,
κἀνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅτε καὶ ἀχθομένους
τῷ Γάλβᾳ προσαναπείσας,[8] μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκπριά-
μενος πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι,[9] παρά τε ἐκείνων
τὴν ἀρχὴν παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ*
6 *παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Γάλβας τὰ πρασ-
σόμενα ἔπεμψέ τινας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς καὶ*
2 *μεταπεῖσαί σφας δυνησόμενος. κἀν τούτῳ στρα-*

[1] Πίσωνα Bk., *πείσωνα* VC Zon.

[2] Cf. Zonaras (11, 14, p. 44, 1–4 D.): *ὁ δὲ Ὄθων . . . ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ, τριάκοντα μόνους στρατιώτας ἑτοιμασάμενος.*

[3] *ὁ* Zon., om. VC.

[4] *ὅτι* Zon., om. VC.

[5] *θυομένῳ* Bk., *θύοντι* Zon.

[6] *παρῄνεσεν* Xyl. (in vers.), *παρῄνεσαν* VC, *παραινοῦντος* (*τοῦ ἱερόπτου*) Zon.

that even I shall become emperor." Nero, when A.D. 69 he heard of it, also laughed and felt such contempt for the fellow that he did him no harm.

Galba, on being informed of the uprising of Vitellius, adopted Lucius Piso, a youth of good family, promising and intelligent, and appointed him Caesar. Thereupon[1] Marcus Salvius Otho, angered because he himself had not been adopted by Galba, set on foot once more countless evils for the Romans. And yet he was always honoured by Galba, so much so, in fact, that on the very day of the latter's death he was the only one of the senators who attended him while he was sacrificing; and this circumstance was largely responsible for what happened. For when the soothsayer declared that Galba would be the victim of a plot and accordingly urged him never on any account to leave the palace, Otho heard it and hastening down immediately, as if on some other errand, was admitted into the camp by some few soldiers who were in the conspiracy with him. Then he won over the rest, too, since they were displeased at Galba, or rather he bought them with many promises. Thus he received the imperial office from these at once and afterwards from the others. Galba, on learning what was taking place, sent some emissaries to the camp, thinking that he would be able to persuade the soldiers to give him their allegiance again. Meanwhile a soldier, holding aloft his bare

[1] Zonaras: But Otho . . . rebelled against him, having got at his command only thirty soldiers.

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[7] συνωμωμόκεσαν St., συμωμόκεσαν VC.
[8] προσαναπείσας Zon., προαναπείσας VC.
[9] πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι Zon., om. VC.

*τιώτης τις γυμνὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ ᾑμαγμένον ἀνατείνων προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔφη "θάρσει, αὐτοκράτορ· "*Ὄθωνα *γὰρ ἀπέκτεινα, καὶ ἔστι σοι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν." πιστεύσας οὖν ὁ* Γάλβας *πρὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνον εἶπε "καὶ τίς σοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι*
3 *ἐκέλευσεν;" αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὸ* Καπιτώλιον *ὡς καὶ θύσων ὥρμησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ* Ῥωμαίων *ἀγορᾷ ἀπαντήσαντες ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν γέροντα τὸν ὕπατον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν* Καίσαρα [1] *τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πολλῶν μὲν βουλευτῶν παμπόλλων δὲ δημοτῶν παρόντων,*[2] *κατέκοψαν, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐλυμή-*
4 *ναντο, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαντες περὶ κοντὸν ἀνέπειραν.*[3] *καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ἀκοντισθεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν δίφρον ἐν ᾧ ἐφέρετο καὶ προκύψας ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐτρώθη* [4] *τοῦτο μόνον εἰπών, "καὶ τί κακὸν ἐποίησα;" καὶ αὐτῷ* Σεμπρώνιος Δῆνσος *ἑκατόνταρχος ἐπαμύνας ἐς ὅσον ἠδυνήθη, τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν*
5[1] *ἤνυσεν, ἐπεσφάγη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνέγραψα, ὅτι ἀξιώτατός ἐστι μνημονεύεσθαι· ἀπέθανε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ* Πίσων *καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπικουροῦντες τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.*—Xiph. 187, 31–189, 14 R. St., Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 26–44, 26 D.

5[a] Πράξαντες *δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, τάς τε κεφαλὰς ἐκείνων ἀποτεμόντες, πρός τε τὸν* Ὄθωνα *αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκόμισαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς καταπλαγέντας χαίρειν τε προσποιεῖσθαι κτλ.*—Zon. 11, 14, p. 44, 26–29 D.

8 Ἡ *μέντοι βουλὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα ἐψηφίσατο· βεβιάσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐς*

sword covered with blood, approached him and said: "Be of good cheer, emperor; I have killed Otho, and no further danger awaits you." Galba, believing this, said to him: "And who ordered you to do that?" He then set out for the Capitol to offer sacrifice. As he reached the middle of the Roman Forum, horsemen and foot-soldiers met him and then and there cut down, in the presence of many senators and crowds of plebeians, this old man, their consul, high priest, Caesar, and emperor; and after abusing his body in many ways they cut off his head and stuck it on a pole. Thus it was that Galba was struck by a javelin in the very chair in which he was being carried, and as he leaned out of it, was wounded, merely saying: "Why, what harm have I done?" Sempronius Densus, a centurion, defended him as long as he could, and finally, when he could accomplish nothing, let himself be slain over Galba's body. This is why I have recorded his name, for he is most worthy of being mentioned. Piso, also, was killed and numerous others, but not in aiding the emperor. A.D. 69

When the soldiers had done this, they cut off the heads of their victims, which they then carried to Otho in the camp and also into the senate-house; and the senators, though terror-stricken, affected to be glad, etc.

The senate, however, voted to Otho all the privileges pertaining to the sovereignty. He claimed, it is

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[1] τὸν ὕπατον and τὸν Καίσαρα Zon., om. VC.
[2] παρόντων VC, ὁρώντων Zon.
[3] ἀνέπειραν Rk., ἐνέπειραν VC Zon.
[4] ἐτρώθη VC, ἐφονεύθη Zon.

τὸ τεῖχος ἄκων ἐσῆχθαι κἀνταῦθα ἀντιλέγων κεκινδυνευκέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιεικῶς ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ τῇ ὑποκρίσει τοῦ σχήματος ἐμετρίαζε, φιλήματά τε ὡς ἑκάστοις διὰ τῶν
2[1] δακτύλων ἔπεμπε, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλά. οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὡς καὶ [1] ἀσελγέστερον καὶ πικρότερον τοῦ Νέρωνος ἄρξειν ἔμελλε· τὸ γοῦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐπέθετο.—Xiph. 190, 25–31 R. St.

6, 5[2] Ἔζησε δὲ Γάλβας ἔτη δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν,[2] ἀφ' ὧν ἦρξε μῆνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας δεκατρεῖς. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Πίσων προσαπώλετο, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχὼν ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἀπεδείχθη.—Xiph. 189, 14–17 R. St., Zon. 11, 14, p. 45, 3–5 D.

7 Γάλβᾳ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα ἡ δίκη οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν μεθήξειν, ὥς που παραχρῆμα ἔμαθε. θύοντί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν πρώτην τὰ ἱερὰ πονηρὰ ὤφθη, ὥστ' αὐτὸν μεταγνόντα ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις εἰπεῖν "τί γάρ με ἔδει μακροῖς αὐλοῖς αὐλεῖν;" ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο δημῶδες, ἐς παροιμίαν φέρον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξω τι τοῦ προσφόρου σφίσι
2 ποιούντων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς νυκτὸς οὕτω δή τι ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐταράχθη ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τούς τε προκοιτοῦντας ἐκπλῆξαι· ἐσπηδήσαντες οὖν εὗρον αὐτὸν χαμαὶ κείμενον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἅπαξ ἐς [3] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθὼν
3 ἀναδῦναι, καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δίκην ἔδωκε, καίτοι πολλὰ καὶ μέτρια πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν

[1] οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὡς καὶ VC, οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὡς Zon.

[2] καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν, Zon., om. VC.

true, that he had acted under compulsion, that he had been taken into the camp against his will, and had there actually risked his life by opposing the soldiers. Furthermore he was kindly in his speech and affected modesty in his deportment, and he kept throwing kisses on his fingers to everybody and making many promises. But men did not fail to realize that his rule[1] was sure to be even more licentious and harsh than Nero's. Indeed, he immediately added Nero's name to his own. A.D. 69

Galba had lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, out of which he ruled nine months and thirteen days. Piso perished after him, thus paying the penalty for having been appointed Caesar.

This was the end that befell Galba. But retribution was destined shortly to overtake Otho in his turn, as he promptly learned. For as he was offering his first sacrifice, the omens were seen to be unfavourable, so that he repented of what had been done and exclaimed: "What need was there of my playing on the long flutes?" (This is a colloquial and proverbial expression applying to those who do something for which they are not fitted.) Later he was so disturbed in his sleep at night that he fell out of bed and alarmed the guards who slept at the door; so when they rushed in, they found him lying on the floor. However, once he had entered upon the imperial office, he could not retreat; and he remained in it and paid the penalty, in spite of many temperate acts intended

[1] Zonaras reads: "that he was himself using compulsion on the senate and that his rule," etc.

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[3] ἐς Zon., ἐπὶ V, space left in C.

ἀνθρώπων ποιήσας, οὐχ ὅτι οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἰδούντων αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἤθελε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπολεμῶσαι. —Xiph. 190, 8–25 R. St.

8, 2[2] Πλὴν τότε καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν συχνοῖς τοῖς μὲν καταδίκας ἀνίει τοῖς δὲ ἄλλ' ἄττα ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ ἐς τὰ θέατρα συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα θωπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, τοῖς τε ξένοις πολιτείαν ἐδίδου καὶ ἄλλα
3 πολλὰ ἐπηγγέλλετο. οὐ μὴν καὶ οἰκειώσασθαι οὐδένα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἠδυνήθη ὁμοίων αὐτῷ. τό τε γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας ἀποκαταστῆσαι, καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα,[1] τό τε τῷ Σπόρῳ συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς Νερωνείοις
9 χρῆσθαι πάνυ πάντας ἐξεφόβει. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμίσουν ὅτι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ὤνιον[2] ἀπεδεδείχει[3] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς θρασυτάτοις ἐπεποιήκει, καὶ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρ'
2 οὐδὲν ἦγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἐπεπείκει καὶ τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι Καίσαρα καὶ ποιῆσαι δύνανται. τοὺς μέντοι στρατιώτας ἐς τοσοῦτον τόλμης καὶ παρανομίας προήγαγεν ἔκ τε ὧν ἐδίδου καὶ ὧν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐκολάκευεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιόν ποτε, ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐσεβιάσαντο, ἐπειδὴ συχνοὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὄθωνι συνεδείπνουν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συμπόσιον, προαποκτείναντες τοὺς εἴργοντάς
3 σφας, ἐσεπήδησαν· καὶ πάντας ἂν τοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας ἐφόνευσαν εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐξανέστησαν

[1] τό τε γὰρ τὰς . . . δίαιτα Bs., ὅτι τὸ τὰς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας τὸν Ὄθωνα ἀποκαταστῆσαι καὶ ἡ δίαιτα cod. Peir., ὅ τε γὰρ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα VC.

[2] ὤνιον Bk., ὠνιόν τε VC.

to conciliate the people. It was not his nature to behave that way, but since he had a troublesome situation on his hands because of Vitellius, he did not wish to alienate everybody else. A.D. 69

At this time, however, he was endeavouring to conciliate the senate by remitting the sentences against several of its members and by granting various favours to others; he constantly frequented the theatres in his effort to please the multitude, granted citizenship to foreigners, and in general made many attractive promises. Yet he did not succeed in winning the attachment of any save a certain few who were like himself. For there were several circumstances, such as his restoration of the images of those under accusation, his life and habits, his intimacy with Sporus and his keeping in his service the rest of Nero's favourites, that alarmed everybody. They hated him most of all, however, because he had shown that the imperial office was for sale and had put the City in the power of the boldest spirits; also because he held the senate and the people in slight esteem, and had convinced the soldiers of the fact that they could both kill and create a Caesar. Moreover, he brought the soldiers to such a daring and lawless state by his gifts and his excessive attentions that they once forced an entrance into the palace, just as they were, while a number of the senators were dining there with Otho; and finally they rushed into the banquet-room itself, first killing those who strove to bar their progress. Indeed they would have slain everybody in the room had not the guests jumped up and hidden themselves

[3] ἀπεδεδείχει Dind., ἀποδεδείχει cod. Peir.

καὶ κατεκρύφθησαν.[1] *καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρήματα, ὡς καὶ δι' εὔνοιαν αὐτὸ τοῦ Ὄθωνος πεποιηκότες, ἔλαβον· ἑάλω*[2] *δέ τις καὶ Νέρων εἶναι πλασάμενος κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρόν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Δίωνι ἠγνόηται, καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ δίκην ἔδωκεν.*—Xiph. 190, 31–191, 15 R. St., exc. Val. 260 (p. 697).

10 *Ὁ*[3] *δὲ Ὄθων ἐπειδὴ καὶ μὴ ἔπειθε τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον, ἐς κοινωνίαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλάκις παρακαλῶν, ἐς πόλεμον λοιπὸν φανερὸν καθίστατο καὶ στρατιώτας ἔπεμπεν, ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοὺς πλείοσι παραδούς· ὃ δὴ καὶ αἰτιώτατον τῶν σφαλμάτων αὐτῷ ἐγένετο.*—Xiph. 191, 15–19 R. St.

[15, 3 Dind.] *Ὅτι ὁ Οὐάλης οὕτω περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσπούδαζεν καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου ἤθροιζεν ὥστε καὶ τὸν δέκαρχον*[4] *τὸν κατακρύψαντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ διασώσαντα*[5] *ἀποσφάξαι διὰ χιλίας δραχμάς, ἃς ἐκ τῶν σκευῶν αὐτοῦ ὑφῃρῆσθαι ἔδοξεν.*—Exc. Val. 261 (p. 607).

[1] Petr. Patr. (*exc. Vat.* 86, p. 217 Mai. = p. 198, 25–27 Dind.): *ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται παρρησίας λαβόμενοι ἐπεχείρησαν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ἐπέλεγον ὡς οὐ δύναται ὁ Ὄθων τοῦ συνεδρίου τούτου ὄντος μοναρχῆσαι.*

[2] Cf. Zonaras (11, 15, p. 45 11–16 D.): *ἐν τούτοις δέ τις πλασάμενος Νέρων εἶναι ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα οὔσης ἐμφερείας αὐτῷ, τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλίγου πᾶσαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ χεῖρα κακούργων ἀνδρῶν ἀθροίσας πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ στρατόπεδα ὥρμησεν. ἐν Κύθνῳ* (*Κύθνῳ* Bs., *κύδνω* MSS.) *δὲ περαιούμενον αὐτὸν ὁ Καλπούρνιος* (*Καλπούρνιος* Wolf, *καλπουρῖνος* MSS.) *συνέλαβε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.*

[3] Cf. Zonaras (11, 15, p. 45, 17–24 D.): *ὁ δὲ Ὄθων λάθρᾳ πολλοὺς πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ἐπὶ καταλλαγῇ ἔπεμψεν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε φανερῶς. οὔτε δὲ ἀπεκρίνατό τι αὐτοῖς Οὐιτέλλιος οὔτε ἀντέπεμψεν αὐτούς. εἶτα ἔπεμψεν Ὄθων ἰσχὺν κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν, ἡττήθη δὲ διὰ πολυαρχίαν οὐ δι' ἀσθένειαν. κἀκ τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ ἐξωρμήθη καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐξήγαγε.*

in season.[1] Even for this behaviour the men received money, it being assumed that their act was due to their liking for Otho. About[2] this time also a man was caught who pretended to be Nero. His name was unknown to Dio. And at last he paid the penalty. A.D. 69

Otho,[3] not succeeding by frequent invitations in persuading Vitellius to share the imperial office, was at last plunging into open war against him, and sending out troops under several different leaders,—an arrangement to which his reverses were largely due.

Valens was so eager for money and collected it so assiduously by every means that he even put to death the decurion who had concealed him and had saved his life—all because of a thousand denarii which he thought had been purloined from his baggage.

[1] Petrus Patricius: The soldiers became bold in their utterances and attempted to slay the senators, declaring that Otho never could be sovereign while this assembly existed.

[2] Zonaras: At this juncture a man who pretended to be Nero, from his resemblance to that emperor, threw practically all Greece into a ferment, and after assembling a band of criminals set out for the legions in Syria. But as he was passing through Cythnus, Calpurnius arrested him and put him to death.

[3] Zonaras: Otho secretly sent many friends to Vitellius to seek a reconciliation, and when no heed was paid to them, he sent envoys openly. But Vitellius neither gave them any answer nor sent them back. Then Otho sent a force by land and by sea; but he was defeated, as a result of the large number of his commanders rather than by the weakness of his force. He set out from Rome himself and took with him the foremost men.

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[4] *δέκαρχον* Bs. (cf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 29), χ̧ cod. Peir., *χιλίαρχον* Val.

[5] *διασώσαντα* Val., *δικαιόσαντα* cod. Peir.

10, 2 Ὅτι[1] ὁ Ὄθων ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, λέγων μὴ δύνασθαι μάχην ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφύλων ἰδεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκ δικαίας τινὸς πράξεως αὐταρχήσας, ἀλλ' οὐ τούς τε ὑπάτους καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τόν τε αὐτοκράτορα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ φονεύσας.—Exc. Val. 262 (p. 697).

3 Ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Κρεμῶνι[2] γενομέναις· ὅπου γέ[3] φασι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἄλλα τε φανῆναι σημεῖα, καί τινα ὄρνιν ἐξαίσιον, ὁποῖον οὐπώποτε ἑωράκεσαν,[4] ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὀφθῆναι.—Xiph. 191, 19–23 R. St.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐκρατήθησαν, ἤγγειλε μὲν ἱππεύς τις τὸ πάθος τῷ Ὄθωνι· καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἠπιστεῖτο πρὸς τῶν παρόντων (ἔτυχον γὰρ πολλοὶ κατὰ τύχην ἠθροισμένοι) καὶ οἱ μὲν δραπέτην οἱ δὲ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν, "εἴθε γάρ" ἔφη "ψευδῆ ταῦτα, Καῖσαρ, ἦν·
2 ἥδιστα γὰρ ἂν νικῶντός σου ἐτελεύτησα. νῦν δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν πάντως οἰχήσομαι, ἵνα μή μέ τις ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καταπεφευγέναι δόξῃ, σὺ δὲ βουλεύου, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἡξόντων, ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἑαυτὸν
12 διεχρήσατο·[5] πιστευσάντων δ' αὐτῷ ἐκ τούτου πάντων καὶ ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων ἀναμαχέσασθαι

[1] Cf. Zonaras (11, 15, p. 45, 24–46, 1 D.): *μέρος δέ τι τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ Πρόκλῳ δούς, αὐτὸς ἀνεχώρησε, λέγων μὴ φέρειν μάχην ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφύλων ἰδεῖν. ὅθεν μαλακίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ στρατάρχαι οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ἡττήθησαν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο καὶ ἀνεμίχθησαν σφίσι.*

[2] *Κρεμῶνι* R. Steph., *κρεμνῶνι* VC.

[3] *γέ* Sylb., *τε* VC.

[4] *ἑωράκεσαν* v. Herw., *ἑωράκασι* VC.

Otho[1] withdrew from the battle, declaring that he could not witness a battle between kindred—just as if he had become emperor in some legitimate fashion and had not murdered the consuls and the Caesar and the emperor[2] in Rome itself. A.D. 69

There fell in the battles which took place near Cremona 40,000 men on each side. Here, they say, various omens appeared before the battle, most noteworthy being an unusual bird, such as men had never before beheld, that was seen for a number of days.

After the forces of Otho had been worsted, a horseman brought word of the disaster to Otho. When the bystanders refused to credit his report—it chanced that there were many gathered there—and some were calling him a renegade and others an enemy, he exclaimed: "Would that this news were false, Caesar; for most gladly would I have died hadst thou been victor. As it is, I shall perish in any case, that no one may think that I fled hither to secure my own safety; but as for thee, consider what must be done, since the enemy will be here before long." With these words, he slew himself. This act caused all to believe him, and they were ready to renew the conflict. For not only were the troops which were already there

[1] Zonaras: Handing over a part of his force to Proculus, he himself withdrew, saying he could not endure to witness a battle between kindred. Hence the soldiers and their commanders, despising him for his weakness, failed altogether in their duty, and being defeated, made overtures to the troops of Vitellius and fraternized with them.

[2] Piso and Galba.

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[5] διεχρήσατο VC Zon.BC^{c}, κατεχρήσατο Zon.AE.

(αὐτοί τε γὰρ συχνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἕτεροι οὐκ ὀλίγοι[1] ἐκ Παννονίας[2] παρῆσαν· ὅ τε μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐστίν, ἐφίλουν τε τὸν Ὄθωνα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ εὔνοιαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γλώττης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶχον), καὶ ἱκετευόντων αὐτὸν μήθ' ἑαυτὸν μήτε σφᾶς προδοῦναι,[3] ἐπέσχε μέχρις οὗ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν συνέδραμον, καί τι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διαλαλήσας ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα.

13 "Ἀρκεῖ τὰ γεγονότα, ἀρκεῖ. μισῶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, κἂν κρατῶ· φιλῶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους, κἂν μὴ ὁμολογῶσί μοι. νικάτω Οὐιτέλλιος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς ἔδοξε· σωζέσθωσαν καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου
2 στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πολὺ γάρ που καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ δικαιότερόν ἐστιν ἕνα ὑπὲρ πάντων ἢ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι δι' ἕνα ἄνδρα τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων στασιάζειν καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον ἀνθρώπων φθείρεσθαι.[4] καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούκιος καὶ Δέκιος καὶ Κούρτιος καὶ Ῥήγουλος μᾶλλον ἂν ἑλοίμην ἢ Μάριος καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοὺς
3 ἄλλους εἴπω, γενέσθαι. μήτ'[5] οὖν βιάσησθέ με ἕνα τούτων ὧν μισῶ γενέσθαι, μήτε φθονήσητέ μοι ἕνα ἐκείνων ὧν ἐπαινῶ μιμήσασθαι· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἄπιτε καὶ ἐκεῖνον θεραπεύετε, ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσω, ὅπως καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι μάθωσιν ὅτι τοιοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα εἵλεσθε ὅστις οὐχ

[1] οὐκ ὀλίγοι Zon., om. VC.
[2] Παννονίας R. Steph., πανονίας V, παρονίας C.

numerous, but others in considerable numbers had A.D. 69 arrived from Pannonia; and—what is most important in such situations—they loved Otho and were quite devoted to him, not in words only, but in their hearts as well. When, however, they besought him not to abandon either himself or them, he waited until the rest had come running up at the news, and then, after muttering some words to himself, he harangued the soldiers at length, saying among other things:

"Enough, quite enough, has already happened. I hate civil war, even though I conquer; and I love all Romans, even though they do not side with me. Let Vitellius be victor, since this has pleased the gods; and let the lives of his soldiers also be spared, since this pleases me. Surely it is far better and far more just that one should perish for all than many for one, and that I should refuse on account of one man alone to embroil the Roman people in civil war and cause so great a multitude of human beings to perish. For I certainly should prefer to be a Mucius, a Decius, a Curtius, a Regulus, rather than a Marius, a Cinna, or a Sulla—not to mention other names. Therefore do not force me to become one of these men that I hate, nor grudge me the privilege of imitating one of those that I commend. But as for you, be off to the victor and pay court to him; as for me, I shall free myself, that all men may learn from the event that you chose for your emperor one

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[3] *καὶ—προδοῦναι* Zon., om. VC.
[4] *καὶ μὴ—φθείρεσθαι* Zon., om. VC.
[5] *μήτ'* Bk., *μὴ* VC.

ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν[1] δέδωκε."—Xiph. 191, 23–192, 18 R. St., Zon. 11, 15, p. 46, 1–12 D.

14 Τοιαῦτα μὲν Ὄθων εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐξ ὧν ἤκουον, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἅμα καὶ ἠλέουν εἴ τι πείσοιτο, καὶ δάκρυσί τε ἔκλαιον καὶ ἐθρήνουν, πατέρα τε ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ παίδων καὶ γονέων φίλτερον ὀνομάζοντες.[2] "ἐν σοί" τε "καὶ ἡμεῖς σωζόμεθα" ἔλεγον, "καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ πάντες
2 ἀποθανούμεθα." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλέχθη, τοῦ τε Ὄθωνος τελευτῆσαι δεομένου καὶ ἐκείνων μὴ ἐφιέντων αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, πρὶν δὴ σιγάσας αὐτοὺς[3] ἔφη "ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως χείρων τοῦ στρατιώτου τούτου γενήσομαι, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἑωράκατε ὅπως ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἀπέσφαξεν, ὅτι τὴν
3 ἧτταν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοκράτορι ἤγγειλεν· ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσω πάντως αὐτῷ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον μήτε ἴδω μήτε ἀκούσω. ὑμεῖς δέ, εἴπερ ὄντως φιλεῖτέ με, ἐάσατέ με ἀποθανεῖν ὡς βούλομαι, καὶ μή με ζῆσαι ἄκοντα ἀναγκάσητε, ἀλλὰ πρός τε τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἄπιτε καὶ ἐκεῖνον κολακεύετε."—Xiph. 192, 18–30 R. St., Exc. Val. 263 (p. 698).

15, 1[1], Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔς τε τὸ δωμάτιον ἀνεχώρησε,
1[a] καί τινα τοῖς τε οἰκείοις καὶ τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιστείλας, τά τε γράμματα ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκείνου ἐγεγράφεσαν ἔκαυσεν, ὥστε μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν φωραθέντα κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ καλῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παρόντων ἠσπάζετο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίδου σφίσι χρήματα. κἀν τούτῳ ταραχῆς γενομένης στρατιωτῶν ἐξῆλθε, καὶ

who would not give you up to save himself, but rather himself to save you." A.D. 69

Such were the words of Otho. The soldiers, when they heard them, felt both admiration for the man and pity for what might befall him; and they shed tears of sorrow and grief, calling him father and terming him dearer than children and parents. "Upon thee our lives depend," they said, "and for thee we will all die." And thus they continued to argue for most of the day, Otho begging to be allowed to die and the soldiers refusing to permit him to carry out his wish. Finally, he reduced them to silence and said: "Surely I cannot show myself inferior to this soldier, whom you have seen kill himself for the single reason that he had borne news of defeat to his emperor. I shall certainly follow in his footsteps, that I may never see or hear any such thing again. And as for you, if you really love me, let me die as I desire, and do not compel me to live against my will, but be off to the victor and curry favour with him."

At the close of this speech he retired to his apartment, and after sending some messages to his intimate friends and also to Vitellius in their behalf, he burned all the letters that anybody had written to him expressing hostility to Vitellius, not wishing them to serve as damaging evidence against anybody. Then calling those who were present one by one, he embraced them, and gave them money. Meantime there was a disturbance made by the soldiers, so that

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1 ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν VC.

2 ἀνακαλοῦντες—ὀνομάζοντες VC, ἀνεκάλουν—ὠνόμαζον cod. Peir.

3 σιγάσας αὐτοὺς Reim., σιγήσας αὐτοῖς VC.

καταστήσας αὐτοὺς οὐ πρότερον ἀνεχώρησε πρὶν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ πέμψαι. καὶ
1[2] *οὕτως ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἔτι ταραχῶδες ἐγίνετο, τι ξιφίδιον λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.*[1] *καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνείλοντο πενθοῦντες καὶ ἔθαψαν, καί τινες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέσφαξαν αὐτῷ.*
2[1] *τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῷ Ὄθωνι ἐγένετο ζήσαντι μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, ἕνδεκα ἡμερῶν δέοντα,*
2[a] *ἄρξαντι δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν τοῦ βίου συνεσκίασε.*
2[2] *κάκιστα γὰρ*[2] *ἀνθρώπων ζήσας κάλλιστα ἀπέθανε, καὶ κακουργότατα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἁρπάσας ἄριστα αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάγη.*[3]

2[b] *Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται εὐθὺς μὲν ἐταράχθησαν καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων πολλοὶ ἀνῃρέθησαν, ἔπειτα ὡμονόησαν καὶ προσκεχωρήκεσαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν.*—Xiph. 192, 30—193, 5, Zon. 11, 15, p. 46, 12–32 D.

[1] *διεχρήσατο* VC Zon. A, *κατεχρήσατο* Zon.BCE[c].

[2] *γὰρ* Zon., *γε μὴν* VC.

[3] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 95 M. v. 15–18): *καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν βίου ἐν τούτοις θαυμαστῶς συνεσκιάσατο, βεβαίως τὸν τοιόνδε πόλεμον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κατασβέσας αἵματι.*

he was obliged to go out and quiet them, and he did A.D. 69
not come back until he had sent them to places of safety, some here, some there. So then, when quiet had been completely restored, he seized a dagger and killed himself. The grief-stricken soldiers took up his body and buried it, and some slew themselves upon his grave. This was the end that befell Otho, after he had lived thirty-seven years, lacking eleven days, and had reigned ninety days; and his death threw into the shadow the impiousness and wickedness of his life.[1] Thus after living most disgracefully of all men, he died most nobly; and though he had seized the empire by a most villainous deed, his taking leave of it was most honourable.

The soldiers immediately fell to rioting and many perished at one another's hands, but afterwards they reached an agreement and set out to meet the victors.

[1] Joann. Antioch.: So by this action he threw into the shadow to a remarkable degree the licentiousness of his former life, thoroughly quenching this great war in his own blood.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXIV

LXV 1 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὡς ἤκουσαν τὸ τοῦ Ὄθωνος πάθος, παραχρῆμα, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, μετεβάλοντο· τόν τε γὰρ Ὄθωνα, ὃν πρότερον ἐπῄνουν καὶ νικᾶν ηὔχοντο, ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς πολέμιον, καὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον, ᾧ κατηρῶντο, καὶ ἐπῄνουν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα
2 ἀνηγόρευον· οὕτω που οὐδὲν πάγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἵ τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀνθοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ταπεινοτάτῳ ὄντες ἀστάθμητά τε αἱροῦνται, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τύχας σφῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τάς τε τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας λαμβάνουσι.—Xiph. 193, 12–23 R. St.

2[a] Ὄντι δ' ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ θάνατος ἠγγέλθη τοῦ Ὄθωνος. ἦλθε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος Γερμανικόν τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἐπωνόμασεν, ἑξάετες ὄν.—Zon. 11, 16, p. 47, 3–7 D.

3 Ὅτι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος εἶδεν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ μονομάχων ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐν Κρεμῶνι, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκοῦντος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλότων καὶ τότε καὶ ἔτι ἀτάφων ἐρριμμένων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεάσατο· διεξῆλθε γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ ἔκειντο, ἐμπιμπλάμενος τῆς θέας ὥσπερ τότε νικῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκέλευσέ σφας οὐδ' ὣς ταφῆναι.—Exc. Val. 264[a] (p. 698).

4 Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τἆλλά

EPITOME OF BOOK LXIV

When the people in Rome heard of the fate of Otho, they naturally transferred their allegiance forthwith. And so Otho, whom they had previously been lauding and for whose victory they had been praying, was now abused as an enemy, whereas Vitellius, upon whom they had been invoking curses, was lauded and proclaimed emperor. So true is it that there is nothing constant in human affairs; but alike those who are most prosperous and those who are in the humblest station make an unstable choice and receive praise or blame, honour or dishonour, according as their fortunes shift. A.D. 69

News of Otho's death was brought to him [Vitellius] while he was in Gaul. There he was joined by his wife and son; and he placed the boy on a tribunal and gave him the titles of Germanicus and *imperator*, though he was only six years old.

Vitellius witnessed gladiatorial combats at Lugdunum and again at Cremona, as if the crowds of men who had perished in the battles and were even then lying unburied where they had been cast did not suffice. He beheld the slain with his own eyes, for he traversed all the ground where they lay and gloated over the spectacle as if it were still the moment of his victory; and not even then did he order them to be buried.

Vitellius, upon reaching Rome and arranging affairs

τε διῴκει ὥς που καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, καὶ πρόγραμμα[1] *ἔθετο δι' οὗ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους ἐξήλασε, προειπὼν σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, ῥητήν τινα τάξας, ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι.*[2] *καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι νυκτὸς ἀντιπροθέντες γράμματα ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς τὸ γενησόμενον προέγνωσαν.*—Xiph. 193, 23–30 R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 47, 7–13 D.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε τρυφῇ καὶ τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ *προσκείμενος οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὔτε τῶν θείων ἐφρόντιζεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοιοῦτος οἷος περί τε τὰ καπηλεῖα καὶ περὶ τὰ κυβευτήρια τούς τε ὀρχηστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἁρματηλάτας ἐσπουδακέναι, καὶ ἀμύθητα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνήλισκε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δανειστὰς*
2 *πολλοὺς εἶχε· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἐξουσίᾳ καθεστώς, ὕβριζε, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδαπάνα ἀπλήστως τε ἐμφορούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς πάντα ἐξεμῶν, ὡς μόνῃ τῇ παρόδῳ τῶν σιτίων τρέφεσθαι. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἀνταρκεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ οἵ γε συνδειπνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάνυ*[3] *κακῶς ἀπήλλασσον.*
3 *πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀεὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὁμοσίτους ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἱστιᾶτο· ὅθεν χαριέστατον λόγον εἷς τις αὐτῶν* Οὐίβιος Κρίσπος *ἀρρωστήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀπολειφθεὶς τοῦ συσσιτίου, εἶπεν, ὅτι "εἰ*

[1] Cf. Zonaras: *φιλόμαντις δὲ ὑπάρχων καὶ μηδὲ τὸ βραχὺ πράσσων ἄνευ αὐτῶν, τότε μὲν τοὺς ἀστρονόμους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοὺς γόητας ἐξήλασε, προειπὼν κτέ.*

[2] *ἐξ—χωρῆσαι* VC, *ἐξ ἁπάσης ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας* Zon.

to suit him, issued[1] an edict banishing the astrologers A.D. 69
and commanding them to leave the whole of Italy by a certain specified day. They answered him by putting up at night another notice, in which they commanded him in turn to depart this life before the end of the very day on which he actually died.[2] So accurate was their foreknowledge of what should come to pass.

Vitellius, addicted as he was to luxury and licentiousness, no longer cared for anything else either human or divine. He had indeed always been inclined to idle about in taverns and gaming-houses, and devote himself to dancers and charioteers; and he used to spend incalculable sums on such pursuits, with the result that he had many creditors. Now, when he was in a position of so great authority, his wantonness only increased, and he was squandering money most of the day and night alike. He was insatiate in gorging himself, and was constantly vomiting up what he ate, being nourished by the mere passage of the food. Yet this practice was all that enabled him to hold out; for his fellow-banqueters fared very badly. For he was always inviting many of the foremost men to his table and he was frequently entertained at their houses. It was in this connexion that one of them, Vibius Crispus, uttered a very witty remark. Having been compelled for some days by sickness to absent himself from the convivial board, he said:

[1] Zonaras: Though he had a great regard for omens, and did nothing however trivial without consulting them, he banished the astrologers at this time and later the sorcerers.

[2] According to Suetonius (*Vit.* 14) they named the very same day that had been appointed by Vitellius.

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[3] πάνυ Zon. Ant., σφόδρα exc. Vat., πάντες VC, om. cod. Peir.

3 *μὴ ἐνενοσήκειν, πάντως ἂν ἀπωλώλειν."* *καὶ*
ἐγένετο ὁ χρόνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ σύμπας οὐδὲν
ἄλλο ἢ μέθαι τε καὶ κῶμοι· πάντα τε γὰρ τὰ
τιμιώτατα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ἵνα μηδὲν
εἴπω πλέον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
συνήγετο, καὶ πολυτελῶς οὕτως ἐσκευάζετο ὥστε
Οὐιτελλιανὰ καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ πέμματα καὶ
2 *ἄλλα τινὰ βρώματα ὀνομάζεσθαι. καὶ τί ἄν τις*
καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καταλέγοι, ὁπότε πρὸς πάν-
των ὁμοίως ὡμολόγηται δύο τε αὐτὸν μυριάδας
μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίας[1] *πεντακοσίας ἐν τῷ τῆς*
ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα δεδαπανηκέναι; ἐπέ-
λιπέ τε γὰρ πάντα τὰ πολυτίμητα δι' ὀλίγου,
3 *καὶ ἔδει πάντως αὐτὰ εἶναι. μίαν γοῦν ποτε*
λοπάδα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἐσκεύασε,
γλώττας τε καὶ ἐγκεφάλους καὶ ἥπατα καὶ
ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνίθων τινῶν ἐμβαλών. καὶ ἐπειδὴ
ἀδύνατον ἦν κεραμεᾶν τηλικαύτην γενέσθαι,
ἀργύρου τε ἐποιήθη καὶ ἔμεινε πολὺν χρόνον
ὥσπερ τι ἀνάθημα, μέχρις οὗ Ἁδριανὸς αὐτὴν
ἰδὼν συνεχώνευσεν.—Xiph. 193, 30–194, 25 R.
St., Exc. Val. 264ᵇ (p. 698).

4 *Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἅπαξ τούτων ἐμνημόνευσα, καὶ*
ἐκεῖνο προσθήσω ὅτι οὐδὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Νέρω-
νος τῇ χρυσῇ ἠρκεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι σφόδρα καὶ τὸ
ὄνομα καὶ τὸν βίον τά τε ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ
πάντα καὶ ἀγαπῶν καὶ ἐπαινῶν, ὅμως ᾐτιᾶτο
αὐτὸν κακῶς τε ᾠκηκέναι καὶ κατασκευῇ καὶ
ὀλίγῃ καὶ ταπεινῇ κεχρῆσθαι[2] *λέγων· νοσήσας*
γοῦν ποτε ἐζήτησεν οἴκημα ἐν ᾧ κατοικήσει·
2 *οὕτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκείνου τι ἤρεσεν. ἡ γυνὴ*
δὲ αὐτοῦ Γαλερία ὡς ὀλίγου ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ

"If I had not fallen ill, I surely should have perished." A.D. 69
The entire period of his reign was nothing but a series of carousals and revels. All the most costly viands were brought from as far as the Ocean (not to say farther) and drawn from both land and sea, and were prepared in so costly a fashion that even now certain cakes and other dishes are named Vitellian, after him. And yet why should one name over all the details, when it is admitted by all alike that during the period of his reign he expended 900,000,000 sesterces on dinners? There soon was a famine in all costly articles of food, yet it was absolutely imperative that they should be provided. For example, he once caused a dish to be made that cost a million sesterces, into which he put a mixture of tongues and brains and livers of certain fishes and birds. As it was impossible to make so large a vessel of pottery, it was made of silver and remained in existence for some time, being regarded somewhat in the light of a votive offering, until Hadrian finally set eyes on it and melted it down.

Now that I have once touched on this subject, I will also add that not even Nero's Golden House could satisfy Vitellius. For though he admired and lauded the name and the life and all the practices of Nero, yet he found fault with him for living in such a wretched house, so scantily and meanly equipped. At any rate, when he fell ill one time, he looked about for a room to live in; so little did anything even of Nero's satisfy him. And his wife Galeria ridiculed the small amount of decoration found in the royal

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[1] δισχιλίας VC Ant., χιλίας Zon. The larger figure is confirmed by Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 95.
[2] κεχρῆσθαι Rk., χρῆσθαι VC cod. Peir.

κόσμου εὑρεθέντος κατεγέλα. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀναλίσκοντες οὐδ' ἠρίθμουν τι ἐκ τῶν δαπανωμένων, οἱ δὲ δὴ δειπνίζοντές σφας ἐν μεγάλῳ κακῷ ἐγίγνοντο, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἷς τι ἀντ-
3 *απεδίδου. καίπερ οὐδ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ αὐτοὶ εἱστίων αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μὲν ἀκρατίσασθαι παρεῖχον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀριστῆσαι, ἕτεροι δὲ δεῖπνον, ἕτεροι μεταδόρπιά τινα πλησμονῆς παραμύθια· πάντες γὰρ οἱ δυνάμενοι ἑστιᾶν αὐτὸν ἐσπούδαζον· ὥστε ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸν δεῖπνον μυριάδας ἀναλῶσαι.*[1] *καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἑωρτάζετο, καὶ θηρία καὶ ἄνδρες πολλοὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν.*—Xiph. 194, 25–195, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 265 and 266 (p. 698).

6 *Οὕτω δὲ βιοὺς οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἦν παντάπασι καὶ καλῶν ἔργων. τό τε γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Γάλβου τοῦ τε Ὄθωνος κοπὲν νόμισμα ἐτήρησεν, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅσα τισὶν ἐδεδώρηντο ἐφύλαξε, μηδένα μηδὲν*
2 *ἀφελόμενος. καὶ οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῶν συντελειῶν ἐποφληθέντα ἀπήτησεν οὔτε οὐσίαν τινὸς ἐδήμευσεν, ὀλίγους μὲν πάνυ τῶν τὰ Ὄθωνος πραξάντων ἀποκτείνας, μηδὲ τὰς ἐκείνων μέντοι οὐσίας τοὺς προσήκοντάς σφων ἀποστερήσας. καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δὲ τῶν πρότερόν ποτε θανατωθέντων ἐδωρήσατο πάντα ὅσα ἔτι ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ εὕρητο.*[2]
3 *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων ἠτιάσατο. ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς*

[1] *ὥστε—ἀναλῶσαι* VC, *καὶ ἑκατὸν δὲ αὐτόν φασι μυριάδας ἐς δεῖπνον ἀναλῶσαι* cod. Peir.
[2] *εὕρητο* St., *εὕρηντο* MSS.

apartments. This pair, then, as they were spending other people's money, never stopped to count the cost of anything; but those who invited them to meals found themselves in great embarrassment, excepting a few to whom he gave something in return. Yet the same persons would not entertain him for the entire day, but one set of men furnished breakfast, another luncheon, another dinner, and still another certain kinds of dessert, "consolations for a jaded appetite."[1] For all who were able to do so were eager to entertain him, so that in the course of a few days they spent four million sesterces for dinner.[2] His birthday celebrations lasted over two days and many wild beasts and men, too, were slain. A.D. 69

Though he lived this kind of life, he was not entirely without good deeds. For example, he retained the coinage minted under Nero, Galba and Otho, evincing no displeasure at their likenesses; and any gifts that they had bestowed upon any persons he held to be valid and deprived no one of any such possession. He did not collect any sums still owing of former levies, and he confiscated no one's property. He put to death but very few of those who had sided with Otho, and did not withhold the property of these even from their relatives. Upon the kinsmen of those previously executed he bestowed all their funds that were still to be found in the public treasury. He did not even find fault with the wills of such as had fought against him and had fallen in the battles. Furthermore he forbade

[1] This little phrase is taken from Plato's *Critias*, 115 B.

[2] The text is uncertain, due perhaps to the omission of some details by the epitomist. The reading of the Cod. Peir. is "and they say he spent four millions upon dinner," omitting the words "in the course of a few days."

ἱππεῦσι μονομαχεῖν ἢ ἐν ὀρχήστρᾳ θέαν τινὰ παρέχειν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπῃνεῖτο.—Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 9–24 D.

4, 4 *Ὅτι τοιούτου τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου ὄντος οὐδ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐσωφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀσέλγειαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολλαὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐγίγνοντο.*—Exc. Val. 267 (p. 701).

5 *Ὅτι Βιτέλλιος ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἠσπάσατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐπιεικὴς ἦν, καὶ ὅτε*[1] *πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ὅτι Γερμανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς, εἶπεν "ἐγὼ μὲν Βιτέλλιον ἀλλ' οὐ Γερμανικὸν τέτοκα."*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 93 (p. 218 Mai. = p. 199, 24–28 Dind.).

5 *Γέλωτα μέντοι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος πολλοῖς παρεῖχεν· ὁρῶντες γὰρ ἄνδρα σεμνοπροσωποῦντα ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις προσόδοις*[2] *ὃν ᾔδεσαν πεπορνευκότα, καὶ ἐφ' ἵππου βασιλικοῦ καὶ ἐν χλαμύδι πορφυρᾷ ὃν ἠπίσταντο τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς*
2 *ἵππους ἐν τῇ οὐενετίῳ*[3] *ἐσθῆτι ψήχοντα, μετά τε ὄχλου στρατιωτῶν τοσούτου ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνιόντα ὃν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρότερον διὰ τὸ τῶν δανειστῶν πλῆθος ἰδεῖν ἐδύνατο, καὶ προσκυνούμενον πρὸς πάντων ὃν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ φιλῆσαί ποτε ἡδέως ἠθέλησεν, οὐκ*
3 *εἶχον ὅπως τὸν γέλωτα κατάσχωσιν. οἵ γε μὴν δεδανεικότες τι αὐτῷ ἐξορμῶντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν ἐπελάβοντο, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ κατεγγυηθέντα αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσαν· τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεγέλων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρήνουν καὶ κατεκρύπτοντο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναζητῶν τήν τε σωτη-*

[1] *ὅτε* St., *ὅτι* cod.
[2] *προσόδοις* Bs., *προόδοις* VC.

the senators and the knights to fight as gladiators or A.D. 69 to perform in any spectacle in the orchestra. For these measures he was commended.

The character of Vitellius being such as I have described, the soldiers did not show any restraint either, but numerous instances of their wantonness and licentiousness were occurring everywhere alike.

Vitellius ascended the Capitol and embraced his mother. She was a good, honest soul, and when she first heard that her son had been given the name Germanicus, she said: "The child I bore was Vitellius, not Germanicus."

Vitellius, however, furnished many with material for amusement. They could not restrain their laughter when they beheld wearing a solemn face in the official religious processions a man whom they knew to have played the strumpet, or saw mounted on a royal steed and clad in a purple mantle him who used, as they knew full well, to wear the Blue costume and curry the race-horses, or when they beheld ascending the Capitol with so great a crowd of soldiers him whom previously no one could catch a glimpse of even in the Forum because of the throng of his creditors, or saw receiving the adoration of all a man whom, a while before, nobody would readily have consented even to greet with a kiss. Indeed, those who had lent him anything had laid hold of him when he was setting out for Germany and would scarcely release him after he had given security. Now, however, so far from laughing at him, they were mourning and hiding themselves; but he sought them out, telling them he spared

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[3] οὐενετίῳ R. Steph., διβενετείω VC.

ρίαν σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδιδόναι ἔλεγε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀπήτει.—Xiph. 195, 4–17 R. St., Exc. Val. 268 (p. 701).

7 Ἐπεφοίτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις συνεχῶς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ὅμιλον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναρτᾶσθαι. συνεσίτει δὲ καὶ τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἁπλοϊζόμενος,[1] ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον προσεταιρίζεσθαι· τῶν τε ἀρχαίων συμβιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐμέμνητο, καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐτίμα, οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν γνωρίζειν τινὰ αὐτῶν δοκεῖν, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγα παραλόγως ἀρθέντες μισοῦσι τοὺς συνειδότας σφίσι τὴν ἐν τῷ πρὶν ταπεινότητα.—Xiph. 195, 17–24 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος, Πρίσκου ἀντειπόντος τι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καί τινα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταδραμόντος, ἐπεκαλέσατο μὲν τοὺς δημάρχους ὡς καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος, οὔτε δὲ αὐτός τι κακὸν τὸν Πρίσκον ἠργάσατο οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων παθεῖν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη ὅτι "μὴ ταράττεσθε,[2] πατέρες, μηδ' ἀγανακτεῖτε, εἰ δύο ἄνδρες ἐξ ὑμῶν διηνέχθημέν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους." καὶ τοῦτο μὲν[3] ἐξ ἐπιεικείας
3 πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξεν· ὅτι μέντοι τὸν Νέρωνα μιμεῖσθαι ἤθελε καὶ ἐνήγισεν αὐτῷ,[4] καὶ ὅτι τοσαῦτα ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα ἀνήλισκεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἔχαιρον, οἱ δὲ δὴ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἤχθοντο, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης χρήματα ἀρκέσει.—Exc. Val. 269 (p. 701).

8 Πράττοντι δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα σημεῖα πονηρὰ ἐγέ-

[1] ἁπλοϊζόμενος H. Steph., ἀπλωιζόμενος VC.

their lives in payment of the debt he owed, and he demanded back his notes. A.D. 69

He was a constant attendant at the theatres, and by this won the attachment of the populace. He ate with the most influential men on free and easy terms, and this gained their favour to an even greater degree. His old companions he never failed to remember and honoured them greatly, not disdaining to appear to recognize any of them. In this he was unlike some others; for many who have unexpectedly attained to great power feel hatred for those who are acquainted with their former humble state.

Vitellius, when Priscus opposed him in the senate and also denounced the soldiers, called the tribunes to his side as if he needed their assistance. Yet he neither did Priscus any harm himself nor did he allow the tribunes to molest him, but merely said: "Be not disturbed, Fathers, nor indignant, that we two out of your number have had a little dispute with each other." This act seemed to have been due to a kindly disposition. The fact, however, that he wished to imitate Nero and offered sacrifices to that emperor's Manes, and that he spent so great sums on dinners, though it caused joy to some, made sensible people grieve, since they were fully aware that not all the money in the whole world would be sufficient for him.

While he was behaving in this way, evil omens

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[2] ταράττεσθε Val., ταράττεσθαι cod. Peir.
[3] μὲν supplied by Bk.
[4] αὐτῷ Bk., τε αὐτῷ cod. Peir.

νετο.[1] καὶ γὰρ κομήτης ἀστὴρ ἐφαντάσθη καὶ ἡ σελήνη παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς δὶς ἐκλελοιπέναι ἔδοξε· καὶ γὰρ τεταρταία καὶ ἑβδομαία ἐσκιάσθη. καὶ ἡλίους δύο ἅμα, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσμῶν, τοῦτον μὲν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὠχρὸν
2 ἐκεῖνον δὲ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρόν, εἶδον. ἔν τε τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἴχνη πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δαιμόνων τινῶν ὡς καὶ κατεληλυθότων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἑωράθη· καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτῷ ἐγκεκοιτηκότες ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ναὸς αὐτόματος σὺν πολλῷ κτύπῳ ἠνεῴχθη, ὥστε τινὰς τῶν φυλάκων ἐκπλαγέντας ἀποψῦξαι.—Xiph. 195, 24–196, 1 R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 25–32 D.

3[1] Ἐπράχθη[2] δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἰουδαίοις πολεμῶν, πυθόμενος τήν τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπανάστασιν, ἐβουλεύετο ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι.—Xiph. 196, 1–3 R. St.

3[a] Ὅτι ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς οὔτ' ἄλλως προπετὴς ἦν, καὶ ἐς ταραχώδη οὕτω πράγματα καὶ πάνυ ὤκνει ἑαυτὸν καθεῖναι.—Exc. Val. 270 (p. 701).

3[2] Ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὔνοια πολλὴ ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν (ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας δόξα καὶ

[1] Cf. Zonaras: ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ἡ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανάστασις. καὶ δεινῶς κατέδεισε δι' αὐτὴν ἄλλων τε συμβάντων σημείων καὶ τῆς σελήνης κτἑ.

[2] Cf. Zonaras (11, 16, p. 49, 1–8 D.): ἐπράχθη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ὧδε. Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ διατρίβων (ὡς γὰρ ἤδη ἱστόρηται, παρὰ Νέρωνος ἦν ἐκεῖσε σταλεὶς διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασίαν) τῷ μὲν Γάλβᾳ αὐταρχήσαντι τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψε Τίτον προσεροῦντα αὐτόν, ἐπανελθόντος δὲ Τίτου ἐπεὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐμεμαθήκει τὴν τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπανάστασιν, πρὸς μοναρχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡρμήθη.

occurred.[1] A comet was seen, and the moon, contrary to precedent, appeared to suffer two eclipses, being obscured on the fourth and on the seventh day. Also people saw two suns at once, one in the west weak and pale, and one in the east brilliant and powerful. On the Capitol many huge footprints were seen, presumably of some spirits that had descended from it. The soldiers who had slept there on the night in question said that the temple of Jupiter had opened of itself with great clangour and that some of the guards had been so terrified that they fainted. A.D. 69

At[2] the same time that this happened Vespasian, who was engaged in warfare with the Jews, learned of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho and was deliberating what he should do.

Vespasian was never inclined to be rash, and he hesitated very much about involving himself in such troublous affairs.

For not only was the popular feeling strong in his favour—since his reputation won in Britain, his

[1] Cf. Zonaras: At this juncture the uprising against him in Judaea was reported to him. And he was in great fear because of it, since various omens, etc.

[2] Cf. Zonaras: The rebellion came about in this way. Vespasian, who was tarrying in Judaea (for, as has already been related [lxiii. 22, 1] he had been sent thither on account of the revolt of the Jews), had sent his son to carry his greetings to Galba when the latter had become emperor; but when Titus returned, having learned on the way of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho, Vespasian also set out to gain the sovereignty.

ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν χερσὶ πολέμου εὔκλεια τό τε ἐπιεικὲς
καὶ φρόνιμον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν σφᾶς ἦγε
4 τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ προστατείας), καὶ ὁ Μουκιανὸς
ἰσχυρῶς προσέκειτο, ἐλπίσας τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἐκεῖνον[1] ἕξειν, αὐτὸς[2] δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν
αὐτοῦ ἰσομοιρήσειν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶ-
ται τούτων, καὶ περιστάντες τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ,
9 ἀνεῖπον αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἐγεγόνει μὲν οὖν
καὶ σημεῖα καὶ ὄνειροι τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὴν
μοναρχίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ δηλοῦντα, ἃ καὶ ἐν τῷ
2 αὐτοῦ βίῳ λελέξεται· τηνικαῦτα δὲ τὸν μὲν
Μουκιανὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον
ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τά τε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπιδὼν καὶ
τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἄλλοις τισὶ
προστάξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκομίσθη καὶ συνέ-
λεγε χρήματα, ὧν που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔχρῃζε,
καὶ σῖτον, ἵν' ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπο-
3 στείλῃ. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ στρατιῶται τὰ κατ'
αὐτὸν πεπυσμένοι οὐδ' ἀνέμειναν τὸν Μουκιανόν
(ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐν ὁδῷ εἶναι), ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον
Πρῖμον, φυγόντα μὲν ἐκ καταδίκης ἐπὶ τοῦ
Νέρωνος, καταχθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ
τοῦ Παννονικοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντα, εἵλοντο
4 στρατηγόν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὗτος τὴν αὐτοτελῆ ἀρχὴν
μήθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς γερου-
σίας αἱρεθείς. τοσαύτη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦν πρός
τε τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ὀργὴ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγὰς
ὁρμή· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ταῦτα ἔπραττον
ἢ ἵνα τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαρπάσωσιν. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο.
10 Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος αὐτὸς μὲν

[1] ἐκεῖνον H. Steph., ἐκεῖ VC.
[2] αὐτὸς Rk., καὶ αὐτὸς VC.

fame derived from the war then in hand, his good A.D. 69 nature, and his prudence, all led men to desire to have him at their head—but Mucianus was also urging him strongly to this course, hoping that while Vespasian should have the name of emperor, he himself as a result of the other's good nature might enjoy an equal share of power. The soldiers, on perceiving all this, surrounded Vespasian's tent and hailed him as emperor. Portents and dreams had also come to him, pointing to his sovereignty long beforehand; these will be related in the story of his life.[1] For the time being he sent Mucianus to Italy against Vitellius, while he himself, after looking at affairs in Syria and entrusting to others the conduct of the war against the Jews, proceeded to Egypt, where he collected money, of which naturally he was greatly in need, and grain, which he desired to send in as large quantities as possible to Rome. The soldiers in Moesia, hearing how matters stood with him, would not wait for Mucianus,—they had learned that he was on the way,—but chose as their general Antonius Primus, who had been sentenced to exile in Nero's reign but had been restored by Galba and was commander of the legion in Pannonia. Thus this man held supreme authority, although he had not been chosen either by the emperor or by the senate. So great was the soldiers' anger at Vitellius and their eagerness for plunder; for they were doing this for no other purpose than to pillage Italy. And their intention was realized.

Vitellius, when he heard about it, remained where

[1] This expression is evidently due to Xiphilinus, who arranged his epitome as a series of lives of the successive emperors.

κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ τρυφῇ καὶ τότ χρώμενος καὶ ἀγῶνας μονομαχίας τιθείς (ἐν οἷ καὶ ὁ Σπόρος μέλλων ἐν κόρης ἁρπαζομένη σχήματι ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσαχθήσεσθαι οὐκ ἤνεγκ τὴν ὕβριν ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν προαπέσφαξε), τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἀλιηνῷ τὸν πόλεμον μεθ' ἑτέρων προσέταξεν

2 *Ἀλιηνὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Κρεμῶνα ἀφίκετο κα προκατέσχεν αὐτήν, ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκ τε τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐκδεδιῃτημένους καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγυμνασίας διατεθρυμμένους,*[1] *τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους καὶ τοῖς σώμασι γεγυμνασμένους καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρω-*

3 *μένους, ἐφοβεῖτο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ καὶ λόγοι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Πρίμου φίλιοι ἦλθον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ τήν τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἰσχὺν τόν τε ἑκατέρου τρόπον εἰπὼν μεταστῆναι ἔπεισε. καὶ τότε μὲν τάς τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου εἰκόνας ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καθεῖλον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ*

4 *Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχθήσεσθαι ὤμοσαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς ἀναχωρήσαντες μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐξαίφνης σπουδῇ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ συστραφέντες τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτοκράτορα αὖθις ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὸν Ἀλιηνὸν ὡς καὶ προδιδόντα σφᾶς ἔδησαν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ προτιμήσαντες· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων τῶν ἐμφυλίων μάλιστα ἔργα ἐστίν.*

11 *Ταραχῆς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου στρατοπέδῳ οὔσης, ἐπηύξησεν αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιποῦσα, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐσκιάσθη (καίτοι τοῖς θορυβουμένοις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόβον φέρει) ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἱματώδης καὶ*

he was and even then went on with his luxurious A.D. 69 living, among other things arranging gladiatorial combats. In the course of these it was proposed that Sporus should be brought on to the stage in the rôle of a maiden being ravished, but he would not endure the shame and committed suicide beforehand. The conduct of the war was entrusted to Alienus and others. Alienus reached Cremona and occupied the town, but seeing that his own soldiers were out of training as a result of their luxurious life in Rome and impaired by lack of drilling, whereas the others were well exercised in body and stout of heart, he felt afraid. Later, when friendly proposals came to him from Primus, he called the soldiers together, and by pointing out the weakness of Vitellius and the strength of Vespasian, as well as the character of the two men, he persuaded them to change sides. So at the time they removed the images of Vitellius from their standards and took oath that they would be ruled by Vespasian. But after the meeting had broken up and they had retired to their tents, they changed their minds and suddenly, rushing together in great haste and excitement, they again saluted Vitellius as emperor and imprisoned Alienus for having betrayed them, showing no reverence even for his consular office. Such things are, in fact, characteristic of civil wars.

The great confusion which under these conditions prevailed in the camp of Vitellius was increased that night by an eclipse of the moon. It was not so much its being obscured (though even such phenomena cause fear to men who are excited) as the fact that

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[1] *διατεθρυμμένους* H. Steph., *διατεθραμμένους* VC.

μέλαινα ἄλλα τέ τινα χρώματα φοβερὰ ἀφιεῖσα
2 *ὤφθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὔτε μετέθεντο οὔτε ἐνέδοσαν, (ἀλλ' ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες προθυμότατα ἠγωνίσαντο* [§ 3], *καίπερ ἄναρκτοι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οἱ Οὐιτελλίειοι*[1] *ὄντες· ὁ γὰρ Ἀλιηνὸς ἐν τῇ Κρεμῶνι ἐδέδετο* [§ 5]).—Xiph. 196, 3–197, 19 R. St.

3 *Ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου τῷ Πρίμῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ὑπαγομένῳ σφᾶς δι' ἀγγέλων ὁμολογῆσαι, ἀντέπεμψαν ἀντιπαραινοῦντες τὰ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου προελέσθαι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ προθυμότατα ἠγωνίσαντο.*
4 *ἡ δὲ δὴ μάχη οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αἰφνίδιον ὀλίγοι τινὲς τῶν ἱππέων, οἷα παρὰ τοῖς ἀντιστρατοπεδευομένοις*[2] *γίγνεται, τοῖς*[3] *προνομεύουσι τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσβοηθούντων ἑκατέροις ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὥς που ἐτύγχανον αἰσθόμενοι, τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς τοτὲ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλων, εἶτ' ἄλλων, καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων, καὶ ταῖς μάχαις αἱ τροπαὶ συνεγίγνοντο, μέχρις οὗ*
5 *πάντες συνέδραμον. τότε δὲ ἐς τάξιν τινὰ ὥσπερ ἐκ συγκειμένου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καίπερ ἄναρκτοι· ὁ γὰρ Ἀλιηνὸς ἐν τῇ Κρεμῶνι ἐδέδετο.*—Ex. U[G] 40[a].

12 *Κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἴση καὶ ἀντίρροπος οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ μάχη αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ*[4] *νὺξ αὐτὴν ἐπέλαβε, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνη σφᾶς διέλυσε· τοσαύτη που καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ, καίπερ καὶ γνωρίζοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ*

[1] Οὐιτελλίειοι Dind., βιτέλειοι VC (so regularly).
[2] ἀντιστρατοπεδευομένοις Urs., ἀντιπαραστρατοπεδευομένοις MSS.

it appeared both blood-coloured and black and gave A.D. 69 out still other terrifying colours. Not even for this, however, would the men change their mind or yield; but when they came to blows with each other, they fought most eagerly, although, as I said, the Vitellians were leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

On the following day, when Primus through messengers tried to induce them to come to terms, the soldiers of Vitellius sent back a message to him urging him in turn to espouse the cause of Vitellius; but when they came to blows with his soldiers they fought most eagerly. The battle was not the result of any definite plan. Some few horsemen, as often happens when two forces are encamped opposite each other, suddenly attacked some of the enemy's foragers, and then reinforcements came to both parties from their respective armies, just as these happened to become aware of the situation,—first to one side, then to the other, now of one kind of fighting force, now of another, both infantry and cavalry; and the conflict was marked by the usual vicissitudes until all had hastened to the front. Then they got into some kind of regular formation, as if a signal had been given, and carried on the struggle with some order, even though leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

From this point on the battle between them was a well-matched and evenly-balanced struggle, not only during the day but at night as well. For the coming of night did not separate them, so thoroughly angry and determined were they, albeit they

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[3] τοῖς supplied by Rk. [4] γὰρ supplied by Rk.

2 λαλοῦντες σφίσιν, ἐχρήσαντο. ὅθεν οὔθ' ὁ λιμὸς
αὐτοὺς οὔτε ὁ κάματος οὔτε τὸ ψῦχος οὔθ' ὁ
σκότος, οὐ τὰ τραύματα, οὐχ οἱ φόνοι, οὐ τὰ λεί-
ψανα τῶν προτέρων νεκρῶν, οὐχ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ
πάθους, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μάτην ἀπολομένων
3 ἐπράυνε· τοιαύτη τις μανία ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοίως
κατέσχε, καὶ οὕτως ἐπεθύμουν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς
τοῦ χωρίου μνήμης παροξυνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν καὶ
τότε νικῆσαι, οἱ δὲ μὴ καὶ τότε ἡττηθῆναι, ὥσπερ
ἀλλοφύλοις τισὶν ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκείοις πολεμοῦντες,
καὶ μέλλοντες ἐξ ἑκατέρου πάντες ὁμοίως ἢ
αὐτίκα ἀπολέσθαι ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα δουλεύειν.
4 οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης, ὥσπερ εἶπον,
ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκκαμόντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
πολλάκις καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι καὶ ἐς λόγους[1] ἀλλή-
13 λοις ἰόντες, ὅμως ἠγωνίζοντο. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν,
ὁσάκις γε καὶ ἡ σελήνη διέλαμψε (νέφη γὰρ
αὐτὴν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διαθέοντα συνεχῶς
συνέκρυπτεν), ἔστι μὲν ὅτε μαχομένους αὐτούς,
ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἑστηκότας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπερη-
2 ρεισμένους ἢ καὶ καθημένους. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κοινῇ
τε συνεβόων, οἱ μὲν τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν
Οὐιτέλλιον ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἀντιπροεκαλοῦντο
ἀλλήλους, λοιδοροῦντές τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἑκά-
τερον· τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διελάλει·
"συστρατιῶτα, πολῖτα, τί ποιοῦμεν; τί μαχό-
μεθα; δεῦρ' ἧκε πρὸς ἐμέ." "μὴ δῆτα, ἀλλὰ
3 σὺ πρὸς ἐμέ." καὶ τί ἂν τις τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν,
ὁπότε καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ αἵ τε γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως τοῖς τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιώταις τῆς
νυκτὸς ἐνεγκοῦσαι ἔδωκαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοί τε

[1] ἐς λόγους Leuncl., ἐκ λόγου U^G.

recognized one another and talked back and forth. A.D. 69
Hence neither hunger nor fatigue nor cold nor darkness nor wounds nor deaths, nor the remains of the men that had died on this field before, nor the memory of the disaster, nor the number of those that had perished to no purpose, mitigated their fierceness. Such was the madness that possessed both sides alike, and so eager were they, incited by the very memories of the spot, which made the one party resolved to conquer this time, too, and the other not to be conquered again. So they fought as if against foreigners and not kinsmen, and as if all on both sides alike were bound either to perish at once or thereafter to be slaves. Therefore, not even when night came on, as I stated, would they yield; but, though tired out and for that reason often resting and engaging in conversation together, they nevertheless continued to struggle. As often as the moon shone out (it was constantly being concealed by numerous clouds of all shapes that kept passing in front of it), one might have seen them sometimes fighting, sometimes standing and leaning on their spears or even sitting down. Now they would all shout together on one side the name of Vespasian and on the other side that of Vitellius, and they would challenge each other in turn, indulging in abuse or in praise of the one leader or the other. Again one soldier would have a private conversation with an opponent: "Comrade, fellow-citizen, what are we doing? Why are we fighting? Come over to my side." "No, indeed! You come to my side." But what is there surprising about this, considering that when the women of the city in the course of the night brought food and drink to give to the soldiers of Vitellius, the latter, after eating and

ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον καὶ τοῖς ἀντιμαχομένοις ὤρεγον.
καί τις αὐτῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀνακα-
λέσας (πάντες γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ᾔδεσαν ἀλλή-
4 λους καὶ ἐγνώριζον) "λαβέ" ἔφη, "συστρατιῶτα,
καὶ φάγε· οὐ γὰρ ξίφος ἀλλὰ ἄρτον σοι δίδωμι.
λαβὲ καὶ πίε· οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδα ἀλλὰ κύλικά σοι
προτείνω, ἵνα, ἄν τε σὺ ἀποκτείνῃς ἐμὲ ἄν τε καὶ
ἐγὼ σέ, ῥᾷον ἀπαλλάξωμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλελυμένῃ καὶ
ἀσθενεῖ τῇ χειρὶ μήτε σὺ ἐμὲ κατακόψῃς μήτε
5 ἐγὼ σέ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ζῶσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐναγί-
σματα καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς διδοῦ-
σιν, ἵν' ἡμᾶς τοῖς πάλαι νεκροῖς καταθύσωσι."
τοιαῦτα ἄν[1] τινες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰπόντες, καὶ
ἀναπαυσάμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καὶ ἐμφαγόντες,
πάλιν ἂν ἐμαχέσαντο· εἶτ' ἀνασχόντες αὖθις αὖ
14 συνέβαλον.[2] καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς
μέχρι τῆς ἕω ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 197, 17–198, 17
R. St., Exc. U[G] 40[a].

2 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι δύο ἄνδρες τῶν Οὐε-
σπασιανείων ἔπραξαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκ
μηχανήματός τινος ἐβλάπτοντο, ἀσπίδας τε ἐκ
τῶν Οὐιτελλιείων σκύλων ἥρπασαν, καὶ τοῖς
ἀντικαθεστηκόσι μιχθέντες ἔλαθον μέχρι τῆς
μηχανῆς ἐλθόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων ὄντες, καὶ τὰ
σχοινία αὐτῆς διέκοψαν ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι βέλος
3 αὐτῆς ἀφεῖναι δυνηθῆναι. ἀνατείλαντος δὲ τοῦ
ἡλίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου στρατο-
πέδου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ καλουμένου καὶ ἐν τῇ
Συρίᾳ χειμάζοντος, τότε δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ
τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μερίδι ὄντος, ἀσπασαμένων

[1] τοιαῦτα ἂν Xiph., τοιαῦτα U[G].

drinking themselves, passed the supplies on to their A.D. 69 antagonists? One of them would call out the name of his adversary (for they practically all knew one another and were well acquainted) and would say: "Comrade, take and eat this; I give you, not a sword, but bread. Take and drink this; I hold out to you, not a shield, but a cup. Thus, whether you kill me or I you, we shall quit life more comfortably, and the hand that slays will not be feeble and nerveless, whether it be yours that smites me or mine that smites you. For these are the meats of consecration that Vitellius and Vespasian give us while we are yet alive, in order that they may offer us as a sacrifice to the dead slain long since." That would be the style of their conversation, after which they would rest a while, eat a bit, and then renew the battle. Soon they would stop again, and then once more join in conflict. It went on this way the whole night through till dawn broke.

At that time two men of the Vespasian party wrought a notable achievement. Their side was being severely damaged by an engine, and these two, seizing shields from among the spoils of the Vitellian faction, mingled with the opposing ranks, and made their way to the engine just as if they belonged to that side. Thus they managed to cut the ropes of the engine, so that not another missile could be discharged from it. As the sun was rising the soldiers of the third legion, called the Gallic, that wintered in Syria and was now by chance on the side of Vespasian, suddenly greeted it according

[2] συνέβαλον U^G, συνέβαλλον VC.

αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ὑποτοπήσαντες
οἱ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου τὸν Μουκιανὸν[1] παρεῖναι
ἠλλοιώθησαν καὶ ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἔφυ-
γον· οὕτω που καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα μεγάλως τοὺς
4 προκεκμηκότας ἐκπλήσσει. καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
ἀναχωρήσαντες χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο καὶ ἱκέ-
τευον. καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐσήκουεν, ἔλυσαι
τὸν ὕπατον, καὶ αὐτὸν τῇ τε ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἀρχικῇ
καὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις κοσμήσαντες ἔπεμψαν ἀνθ'
ἱκετηρίας, καὶ ἔτυχον τῶν σπονδῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀλιη-
νὸς διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἔπεισε
ῥᾳδίως τὸν Πρῖμον τὴν ὁμολογίαν σφῶν δέξασθαι.
15 Ὡς μέντοι αἵ τε πύλαι ἠνεῴχθησαν καὶ ἐν
ἀδείᾳ πάντες ἐγένοντο, τότε δὴ ἐξαίφνης πανταχόθεν
τε ἅμα ἐσέδραμον καὶ διήρπασαν πάντα
καὶ ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος
οὐδενὸς τῶν δεινοτάτων σμικρότερον· ἥ τε γὰρ
πόλις καὶ μεγέθεσι καὶ κάλλεσιν οἰκοδομημάτων
ἤσκητο, καὶ χρήματα παμπληθῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων
καὶ τῶν ξένων ἐς αὐτὴν συνεληλύθει.
2 καὶ τά γε πλείω κακὰ οἱ Οὐιτελλίειοι ἔδρασαν,
ἅτε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσιωτάτων καὶ τὰς
διεξόδους τῶν στενωπῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες· οὐδὲ
ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς εἰ ὧν ὑπερεμαχέσαντο, τούτους
ἀπώλεσαν,[2] ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἠδικημένοι
καὶ κεκρατηκότες ἔπαιον ἔσφαττον, ὥστε καὶ
πέντε μυριάδας σὺν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσοῦσιν
ἀπολέσθαι.
16 Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τῆς ἥττης, τέως
μὲν ἐθορυβεῖτο, τὸ μέν τι καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων

[1] Μουκιανὸν R. Steph., μινουκιανὸν VC.
[2] ἀπώλεσαν R. Steph., ἀπώλυσαν VC.

to their custom; but the followers of Vitellius, suspecting that Mucianus had arrived, underwent a revulsion of feeling, and becoming panic-stricken at the shout, took to flight. Thus it is that the smallest things can produce great alarm in men who are already exhausted. They retired within the wall, from which they stretched forth their hands and made supplications. As no one listened to them, they released the consul, and, having arrayed him in his robe of office with the fasces, they sent him as an intercessor. Thus they obtained a truce, for Alienus, because of his rank and his sad plight, easily persuaded Primus to accept their proffer of capitulation. A.D. 69

When, however, the gates were opened and all the soldiers were granted leave, they suddenly came rushing in from all directions and began plundering and setting fire to everything. This catastrophe proved to be one of the greatest on record; for the city was distinguished for the size and beauty of its buildings, and vast sums of money belonging not only to the citizens but also to strangers had been accumulated there. Most of the damage was done by the Vitellians, since they knew exactly which were the houses of the richest men and where the passages were which gave upon the side-streets. They showed no scruples about destroying the persons in whose behalf they had fought, but dealt blows and committed murder just as if it were they who had been wronged and now had conquered. Thus, counting those that fell in the battle, fifty thousand perished altogether.

Vitellius on learning of his defeat was alarmed for a time. Omens, for one thing, had contributed

ταραχθείς (θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινά, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ δημηγοροῦντος τοῖς στρατιώταις, γῦπες πολλοὶ προσπεσόντες τά τε ἱερὰ διεσκέδασαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀλίγου δεῖν κατέβαλον),
2 τὸ δὲ δὴ πλέον διὰ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἥττης· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν διὰ ταχέων ἐς Ταρρακῖναν[1] ἔπεμψε, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεν ὀχυρὰν οὖσαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ στρατηγῶν ἐπιόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐξεπλάγη τε καὶ
3 ἐξέστη. ἓν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπραττεν οὔτε ἐφρόνει, ἐμπλήκτως[2] δὲ ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐφέρετο ὥσπερ ἐν κλύδωνι. καὶ γὰρ ἀντείχετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πάντως ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἑκὼν αὐτὴν ἠφίει καὶ πάντως ὡς
4 καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων ἡτοιμάζετο. καὶ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε τὴν χλαμύδα τὴν πορφυρᾶν ἐφόρει καὶ ξίφος παρεζώννυτο, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν ἀνελάμβανεν. ἐδημηγόρει τε καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα, ἐπί τε μάχην καὶ ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς αὐ-
5 τοὺς προτρεπόμενος· καὶ τοτὲ μὲν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ δὴ ἐπεδίδου, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κατέχων καὶ φιλῶν προέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς[3] ὡς ἐλεηθησόμενος. τούς τε[4] δορυφόρους ἀπήλλαττε καὶ πάλιν μετεπέμπετο, τό τε παλάτιον ἐκλιπὼν ἂν καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οἰκίαν ἀπιὼν εἶτα ἀνεκομίζετο, ὥστε ἐκ τούτων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
6 τοὺς πλείστους τῆς σπουδῆς παραλῦσαι. ὁρῶντες γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῦρο καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐμμανῶς ᾄττοντα οὔτε

[1] Ταρρακῖναν Bk., ταρακίναν VC (and so below).
[2] ἐμπλήκτως C, ἐκπλήκτως V.
[3] αὐτοῖς Sylb., αὐτοὺς VC.

to make him uneasy; for, on the occasion of his A.D. 69 offering a certain sacrifice and afterwards addressing the soldiers, a lot of vultures had swooped down, scattered the offerings, and nearly knocked him from the platform. Yet it was chiefly the news of the defeat that troubled him. He promptly sent his brother to Tarracina, a strong city, and occupied it; but when the generals of Vespasian moved against Rome, he became alarmed and lost his head. He was unable to keep at any one activity or keep his mind on any one subject, but in his bewilderment was driven this way and that like a ship in a storm. One moment he was inclined to cling to the sovereignty and was making every preparation for war; the next moment he was ready to abdicate voluntarily and was making all his preparations for retiring to private life. At times he would wear the purple military cloak and carry a sword at his belt; and again he would put on dark clothing. His public addresses both in the palace and in the Forum were now of one tenor, now of another, as he urged the people to offer battle or conclude peace. At times he was ready even to surrender himself for the public welfare, as he put it, and again he would clasp his child in his arms, kiss him and hold him out to the people as if to arouse their pity. Similarly he would dismiss the Praetorians only to send for them again, and would leave the palace and retire to his brother's house and then return. The result of this procedure was that he chilled the enthusiasm of almost everybody else; for when they saw him rushing hither and thither in such a frenzy, they ceased to carry

[4] τούς τε Sylb., τούτῳ VC.

τι τῶν προστασσομένων σφίσιν ὁμοίως ἔπραττον, οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφῶν διεσκόπουν. καὶ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἐκερτόμουν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότε τὸ ξίφος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ὤρεγεν ὡς καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποτεθειμένος· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνων τις λαβεῖν αὐτὸ ἐτόλμα, καὶ οἱ προσεστηκότες ἐχλεύαζον.

17 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πελάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ Πρίμου, συνελθόντες οἵ τε ὕπατοι Γάιος Κυΐντιος Ἀττικὸς καὶ Γναῖος Καικίλιος[1] Σίμπλιξ καὶ Σαβῖνος (συγγενὴς οὗτος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ) τῶν τε ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι γνώμας ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὥρμησαν σὺν τοῖς ὁμογνωμονοῦσί σφισι στρατιώταις ὡς ἢ πείσοντες ἢ καὶ καταναγκά-
2 σοντες τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπεῖν. καὶ περιπεσόντες τοῖς Κελτοῖς τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, κἀκ τούτου ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέφυγον, κἀνταῦθα τὸν Δομιτιανὸν[2] τὸν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ
3 μεταπεμψάμενοι ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προσβαλόντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων χρόνον μέν τινα ἀπεκρούσαντο αὐτούς, ἐμπρησθέντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ οὕτως ἐπαναβάντες οἱ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιῶται ἐκείνων τε συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ διαρπάσαντες πάντα τὰ ἀνακείμενα κατέπρησαν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγαν, τόν τε Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν Ἀττικὸν συλ-
4 λαβόντες πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ἔπεμψαν. Δομιτιανὸς δὲ καὶ Σαβῖνος ὁ τοῦ Σαβίνου παῖς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ θορύβῳ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

out their orders with their usual diligence and began A.D. 69 to consider their own interests as well as his. They sneered at him a great deal, especially when in the assemblies he would proffer his sword to the consuls and to the other senators, as if by this act he had divested himself of the imperial office. Naturally none of the persons mentioned dared to take it and the bystanders jeered.

In view of all this, added to the fact that Primus was now drawing near, the consuls, Gaius Quintius Atticus and Gnaeus Caecilius Simplex, together with Sabinus (a relative of Vespasian) and the other foremost men, consulted together and then set out for the palace, accompanied by the soldiers who were of the same mind, with the purpose of either persuading or compelling Vitellius to abdicate the throne. But encountering his German guards and getting the worst of it, they fled up to the Capitol. Arrived there, they sent for Domitian, the son of Vespasian, and his relatives, and put themselves in a state of defence. The next day, when their adversaries assailed them, they managed for a time to repulse them; but when the environs of the Capitol were set on fire, they were driven back by the flames. And thus the soldiers of Vitellius made their way up, slaughtered many of them, and after plundering all the votive offerings burned down the great temple and other buildings. Sabinus and Atticus were arrested by them and sent to Vitellius. Domitian and the younger Sabinus, however, had made their escape from the Capitol in the first con-

[1] Καικίλιος Reim., κεκίλιος VC.
[2] Δομιτιανὸν H. Steph., δομετιανὸν VC (and similary in § 4).

καὶ ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς κατακρυφθέντες ἐλελήθεσαν. —Xiph. 198, 17—200, 25 R. St.

18 *Ὡς δὲ οἱ Οὐεσπασιάνειοι στρατιῶται πλησίον ἐγένοντο, οὓς ὅ τε Κύιντος Πετίλιος Κερεάλιος βουλευτὴς τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν τινὰ προσήκων καὶ ὁ Πρῖμος*[1] *ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦγον (ὁ γὰρ Μουκιανὸς οὔπω ἐπεφθάκει), ἐν παντὶ δέους ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐγεγόνει.*
2 *οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν δι' ἀγγέλων τινῶν, ἔς τε λάρνακας μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐς ἀρρίχους ὀπώραν ἐχούσας*[2] *ἢ καὶ καλάμους ὀρνιθευτῶν τὰ γράμματα ἐμβαλλόντων,*[3] *πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει δρώμενα ἐμάνθανον καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἐβουλεύοντο· τότε δ' ἰδόντες τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὥσπερ ἐκ φρυκτωρίας αἰρόμενον*
3 *ἠπείχθησαν. καὶ πρότερος τῇ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ὁ Κερεάλιος προσμίξας ἡττήθη μὲν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἔσοδον, ἅτε ἐν στενῷ μεθ' ἱππέων ἀποληφθείς, ἐπέσχε δ' οὖν τό τι κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ Οὐιτέλλιος καταλλαγήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπικρατείας ἐλπίσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχαίτισεν, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγὼν πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων πρὸς τὸν Κερεάλιον ἔπεμψεν.*

19 *Ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐσήκουσεν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπέθανον, πρός τε τὸν Πρῖμον καὶ αὐτὸν ἤδη προσπελάζοντα ἦλθον, καὶ λόγου μὲν ἔτυχον,*
2 *ἔπραξαν δὲ οὐδέν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῇ ἐχώρησαν, καὶ τήν τε φυλακὴν τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας ῥᾳδίως ἔλυσαν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ*

[1] *Πρῖμος* U^G Suid., *πρίσκος* VC.
[2] *ἐχούσας* Suid., *ἔχοντας* VC.

fusion and by concealing themselves in some houses had remained undiscovered. A.D. 69

The troops of Vespasian that were led by Quintus Petilius Cerialis (one of the foremost senators and a relative of Vespasian by marriage) and by Antonius Primus (for Mucianus had not yet overtaken them) were by this time close at hand, and Vitellius had fallen into the greatest terror. The oncoming leaders learned, by means of messengers, all that was being done in the City and formed their plans accordingly. (These messengers placed the letters which had been given them in coffins along with the corpses, or in baskets of fruit, or in the reed traps of bird catchers.) Accordingly, when they now saw the blaze rising from the Capitol like a beacon, they made haste. The first of the two to approach the city was Cerialis with his cavalry, and he was defeated at the very gates, where he and his horsemen were cut off, since the place was narrow. Yet he contrived to prevent his opponents from doing him any injury. For Vitellius, hoping that he could make terms on the strength of his victory, restrained his troops; and having convened the senate, he sent to Cerialis envoys chosen from that body along with the Vestal Virgins.

But when no one listened to them and they came very near losing their lives besides, the envoys came to Primus, who was also approaching at last; from him they secured an audience, but accomplished nothing. For his soldiers advanced angrily against him and they also overcame easily the guard at the bridge over the Tiber; for when the guards took

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[3] ἐμβαλλόντων Bs., ἐμβάλλοντες VC.

ἐνστάντες ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκώλυσάν σφας διελθεῖν, διενήξαντο τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νώτου σφίσιν ἐπέπεσον), καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ ἐσβαλόντες οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ
3 *ἐποίησαν· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ δι' ἃ καὶ πολεμεῖν σφισιν ἐσκήπτοντο, ἔδρασαν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν πολλούς. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπό τε τῶν στεγῶν*[1] *τῷ κεράμῳ*[2] *βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ὠθούμενοι ἐκόπτοντο, ὥστε ἐς*[3] *πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ὅλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις φθαρῆναι.*—Xiph. 200, 25—201, 18 R. St., Exc. U^G 40^b (p. 396).

20 Τῆς *οὖν πόλεως πορθουμένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ φευγόντων, καὶ ἤδη καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὅπως τῶν ἐσεληλυθότων δόξαντες εἶναι σωθῶσι, καὶ ἁρπαζόντων τινὰ καὶ φονευόντων, ὁ* Οὐιτέλλιος *φοβηθεὶς χιτωνίσκον τε ῥακώδη καὶ ῥυπαρὸν ἐνέδυ, καὶ ἐς οἴκημα σκοτεινόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐτρέφοντο κύνες, ἐκρύφθη, γνώμην ἔχων τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν* Ταρρακῖναν *πρὸς τὸν*
2 *ἀδελφὸν ἀποδρᾶναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναζητήσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἐξευρόντες* (*οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ λαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἐδύνατο ἅτε αὐτοκράτωρ γεγονώς*) *συνέλαβον*[4] *φορυτοῦ*[5] *καὶ αἵματος ἀναπεπλησμένον* (*ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν κυνῶν ἐλελύμαντο*), *κἀκ τούτου τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ περιρρήξαντες καὶ τὼ χεῖρε ἐς τοὐπίσω δήσαντες, τῷ τε αὐχένι σχοινίον περιθέντες, κατήγαγον ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τὸν* Καίσαρα *τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντρυφή-*

[1] *στεγῶν* U^G, *τέγων* V, *τεγῶν* C.

their stand on the bridge and disputed their passage, A.D. 69 the horsemen forded the stream and fell upon them from the rear. After this various bodies of men made assaults at various points and committed every conceivable cruelty. In fact, they indulged in all the deeds for which they were censuring Vitellius and his followers and which they pretended had caused the war between them; and they slew great numbers. Many of the attacking force also were pelted with tiles from the roofs or in the narrow passages were crowded back by the multitude of their adversaries and cut down. Thus as many as fifty thousand persons perished during those days.

The city was accordingly being pillaged, and the inhabitants were fighting or fleeing or even themselves plundering and murdering, in order that they might be taken for the invaders and thus preserve their lives. Then Vitellius in his fear put on a ragged and filthy tunic and concealed himself in a dark room where dogs were kept, intending to escape during the night to Tarracina and there join his brother. But the soldiers sought and found him; for naturally he could not go entirely unrecognized very long after having been emperor. They seized him, covered as he was with rubbish and blood (for he had been bitten by the dogs), and tearing off his tunic they bound his hands behind his back and put a rope round his neck. And thus they led down from the palace the Caesar who had

[2] τῷ κεράμῳ U^{G}, τῶν κεράμων C, τῶν κεραμίων V.
[3] ἐς U^{G}, om. VC.
[4] συνέλαβον Zon., συνέλαβεν VC.
[5] φορυτοῦ Zon., ὑφαντοὺ V, ὑφαντοῦ C.

3 σαντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἔσυραν τὸν
αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ δίφρῳ πολλάκις
σοβήσαντα, ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσεκόμισαν τὸν
Αὔγουστον ἐν ᾗ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησε. καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἐρράπιζον αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ γενείου ἔτιλλον·
πάντες δὲ ἔσκωπτον καὶ πάντες ὕβριζον, τά τε
ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀσωτίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγοντες, ἐπειδὴ
21 καὶ γαστροπίων ἦν. αἰσχυνομένου τε ἐπὶ τού-
τοις αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, οἱ στρατιῶται
ξιφιδίοις αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ γένειον ὑπεκέντουν, ἵνα
καὶ ἄκων ἄνω βλέπῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Κελτός τις
οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἐλεήσας αὐτόν "ἐγώ σοι" ἔφη
"βοηθήσω, ὡς μόνως[1] δύναμαι." καὶ ὁ μὲν
2 ἐκεῖνόν τε ἔτρωσε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξεν, οὐ μέντοι
καὶ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἀπέθανεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος,
ἀλλ' ἐσύρετο ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ
ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν μὲν γελοίων πολλῶν
δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἐπιλεγομένων σφίσιν. ἐπειδή τε
καὶ ὑπεραλγήσας καὶ οἷς ἔπαθε[2] καὶ οἷς ἤκουεν
"ἀλλ' ἔγωγε" ἔφη "αὐτοκράτωρ ποτὲ ὑμῶν
ἐγενόμην," ὀργισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται πρός τε
τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς αὐτὸν ἤγαγον, κἀνταῦθα
κατέκοψαν, τήν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες
κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν περιήγαγον.
22 Καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον ἡ γυνὴ ἔθαψε, ζήσαντα
μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας
ἐννέα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα,[3] ἄρξαντα δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν
ἡμερῶν δέκα ἀποδέοντα· ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
ὥρμησε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ταρρακίνης ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων
αὐτῷ, μαθὼν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὅτι τέθνηκε, καὶ

[1] μόνως Sylb., μόνος VC Zon.

revelled there; along the Sacred Way they dragged A.D. 69
the emperor who had often paraded past in his chair of state, and they conducted the Augustus to the Forum, where he had often addressed the people. Some buffeted him, some plucked at his beard; all mocked him, all insulted him, making comments especially upon his riotous living, since he had a protuberant belly. When, in shame at this treatment, he lowered his gaze, the soldiers would prick him under the chin with their daggers, in order to make him look up even against his will. A German who witnessed this could not endure it, but taking pity on him cried: "I will help you in the only way that I can." Thereupon he wounded Vitellius and slew himself. However, Vitellius did not die of the wound, but was dragged to the prison, as were also his statues, while many jests and many opprobrious remarks were made about them. Finally, grieved to the heart at what he had suffered and what he had been hearing, he cried: "And yet I was once your emperor." At that the soldiers became enraged and led him to the Stairway,[1] where they struck him down. Then they cut off his head and carried it about all over the city.

His wife later saw to his burial. He had lived fifty-four years and eighty-nine days, and had reigned for a year lacking ten days. His brother had set out from Tarracina to come to his assistance, but learning on the way of his death and also encountering the men who had been sent against him, he

[1] The *scalae Gemoniae*.

[2] ἔπαθε VC, ἔπασχε Zon.
[3] καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα Zon., om. VC.

περιπεσὼν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν πεμφθεῖσιν, ὡμολόγησε μέν σφισιν ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενος,
2 ἐσφάγη δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου παῖς ἐπαπώλετο, καίτοι τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου μηδένα μήτε τῶν τοῦ Ὄθωνος μήτε τῶν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ συγγενῶν ἀποκτείναντος. πεπραγμένων δὲ τούτων ἤδη ὡς ἑκάστων ὁ Μουκιανὸς ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα συνδιῴκει τῷ Δομιτιανῷ, καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸν παραγαγὼν δημηγορῆσαι ἐποίησε καίπερ καὶ παιδίσκον ὄντα. καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος ἔλαβεν.—Xiph. 201, 18—202, 26 R. St.

made terms with them on the condition that his life should be spared; however, he was slain not long afterward. The son of Vitellius, too, perished soon after his father, in spite of the fact that Vitellius had put to death no relative either of Otho or of Vespasian. After all these various events had taken place Mucianus at length arrived and administered affairs in conjunction with Domitian. Among other things, he presented Domitian to the soldiers and made him deliver a speech, boy as he was. And each of the soldiers received a hundred sesterces. A.D. 69

EPITOME OF BOOK LXV

LXVI 1 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ Καίσαρες ὅ τε Τίτος καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπεκλήθησαν,[1] τήν τε ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἔλαβον, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ
2 δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὤν. ἐγεγόνει μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ ὀνείρατα τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ προδηλοῦντα. βοῦς τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ ἐν ᾧ τὴν δίαιταν ὡς πλήθει ἐποιεῖτο, δειπνοῦντι προσελθὼν ὤκλασε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑπέθηκε· καὶ κύων αὖθις, σῖτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε αἱρουμένου, χεῖρα ἀνθρωπίνην
3 ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ὑπέβαλε. κυπάρισσός τε περιφανὴς πρόρριζος ὑπὸ σφοδροῦ[2] πνεύματος ἀνατραπεῖσα, ἔπειτα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς[3] ἀνέστη καὶ ἀκμάζουσα διετέλεσε. καὶ παρ' ὀνείρατος ἔμαθεν ὅτι, ὅταν ὁ Καῖσαρ Νέρων ὀδόντα ἀποβάλῃ, αὐταρχήσει· καὶ τοῦτό τε τὸ κατὰ τὸν ὀδόντα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνηνέχθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἔδοξέ ποτε ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ὄχον ἐς τὴν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
4 οἰκίαν ἐσαγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἑρμηνεύσεως ἔχρῃζεν, Ἰώσηπος δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος ἀχθείς τε

[1] ἐπεκλήθησαν Zon., ἐπεδείχθησαν VC.
[2] ὑπ' οὐ σφοδροῦ proposed by Boissée; cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 5.
[3] ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς H. Steph., ὑφ' ἑαυτῇ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXV

Such was the course of these events; and following them Vespasian was declared emperor by the senate also, and Titus and Domitian were given the title of Caesars. The consular office was assumed by Vespasian and Titus while the former was in Egypt and the latter in Palestine. Now portents and dreams had come to Vespasian pointing to the sovereignty long beforehand. Thus, as he was eating dinner on his country estate, where most of his time was spent, an ox approached him, knelt down and placed his head beneath his feet. On another occasion, when he was also eating, a dog dropped a human hand under the table. And a conspicuous cypress tree, which had been uprooted and overthrown by a violent wind,[1] stood upright again on the following day by its own power and continued to flourish. From a dream he learned that when Nero Caesar should lose a tooth, he himself should be emperor. This prophecy about the tooth became a reality on the following day; and Nero himself in his dreams once thought that he had brought the car of Jupiter to Vespasian's house. These portents needed interpretation; but not so the saying of a Jew named Josephus: he, having earlier been captured by

A.D. 69

A.D. 70

[1] According to Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5 (cf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 78), the tree fell *sine ulla vi tempestatis.* Boissée proposed to reconcile Xiphilinus' statement by supplying the negative particle before "violent."

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον καὶ δεθεὶς ἐγέλασε καὶ ἔφη "νῦν μέν με δήσεις, μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ λύσεις αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος."—Xiph. 203, 8–30 R. St.

2 *Οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐγεγέννητο,*[1] *ἀπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ Μουκιανὸς τὰ τοῦ κράτους πάντα μετὰ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ διῴκει. μέγα γάρ τι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ δεδωκώς, ἠγάλλετο*[2] *διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι ἀδελφὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐξουσίαν εἶχε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ προστάξεως διοικεῖν καὶ γράφειν, τὸ ὄνομα*
2 *αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπιγραφόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ δακτύλιον πεμφθέντα οἱ*[3] *ἐφόρει, ἵνα τὸ αὐτοκρατορικὸν σφράγισμα τὰ σημαινόμενα λαμβάνῃ. πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἐπιτροπείας αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἔδοσαν, καὶ ἐπάρχους*
3 *ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις καὶ ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν.*[4] *τό τε σύμπαν οὕτω πάντα αὐτοὶ ὡς*[5] *αὐταρχοῦντες ἐποίουν ὥστε τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐπιστεῖλαί ποτε τῷ Δομιτιανῷ*[6] *ὅτι "χάριν ἔχω σοι, τέκνον, ὅτι με ἐᾷς ἄρχειν καὶ οὐδέπω με καταλέλυκας."*—Xiph. 203, 30–204, 10 R. St., Zon. 11, 17, p. 52, 11–21 D.

5 *Ὁ δὲ Μουκιανὸς καὶ χρήματα ἀμύθητα πανταχόθεν, ὅθεν ἐνεδέχετο, ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἤθροιζεν ἑτοιμότατα, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπηγορίαν ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀναδεχόμενος. νεῦρα γὰρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὰ χρήματα ἀεί ποτε εἶναι ἔλεγε, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ πανταχόθεν*

[1] *ἐγεγέννητο* R. Steph., *ἐγεγένητο* VC.
[2] *ἠγάλλετο* H. Steph., *ἠγγείλλετο* VC, *ἠγήλατο* Sylb.

Vespasian and imprisoned, laughed and said: "You may imprison me now, but a year from now, when you have become emperor, you will release me." A.D. 70

Thus Vespasian, like some others, had been born for the throne. While he was still absent in Egypt, Mucianus administered all the details of government with the help of Domitian. For Mucianus, who claimed that he had bestowed the sovereignty upon Vespasian, plumed himself greatly upon his honours, and especially because he was called brother by him, and had authority to transact any business that he wished without the emperor's express direction, and could issue written orders by merely adding the other's name. And for this purpose he wore a ring, that had been sent him so that he might impress the imperial seal upon documents requiring authorization. In fact, he and Domitian gave governorships and procuratorships to many and appointed prefect after prefect and even consuls. In short, they acted in every way so much like absolute rulers that Vespasian once sent the following message to Domitian: "I thank you, my son, for permitting me to hold office and that you have not yet dethroned me."

Now Mucianus was gathering countless sums into the public treasury with the greatest eagerness from every possible quarter, thereby relieving Vespasian of the censure which such a proceeding entailed. He was for ever declaring that money was the sinews of sovereignty; and in accordance with this belief he not only constantly urged Vespasian to raise

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[3] οἱ Zon., om. VC.

[4] πολλοῖς γοῦν—ἀπέδειξαν Zon., om. VC.

[5] ὡς Zon., ὥστε V, ὥστε C (τε deleted).

[6] Δομιτιανῷ Zon. (δομετιανῷ), δομιτίῳ VC.

πορίζειν παρῄνει καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀργυρολογῶν διετέλεσε, καὶ μεγάλα μὲν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ χρήματα παρεσκεύασε, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο.

3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἄλλαι τε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐμοὶ γοῦν
ὄφελος φέρουσαι, καί τι συνηνέχθη καὶ θαύματος
ἄξιον. Ἰούλιος γάρ τις Σαβῖνος, ἀνὴρ πρῶτος
τῶν Λιγγόνων, δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίαν ἤθροισε
καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐπωνομάσθη, λέγων ἔγγονος τοῦ Καί-
2 σαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου εἶναι. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ μάχαις
τισὶν ἔφυγεν ἐς ἀγρόν τινα, κἀνταῦθα ἐς μνημεῖον
ὑπόγειον, προκαταπρήσας αὐτό, κατέδυ· καὶ οἱ
μὲν ᾤοντο κἀκεῖνον ἀπολωλέναι, ὁ δὲ ἐκρύφθη
τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐννέα ἔτη μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, καὶ
3 παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς δύο ἄρρενας ἐκύησε. καὶ τὰ
μὲν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ Κερεάλιος μάχαις πολλαῖς κατ-
εστήσατο, ὧν ἐν μιᾷ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος τῶν τε
Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατεκόπη ὥστε τὸν
παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πεπτωκότων
ἐπισχεθῆναι.

4 Ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανός, ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασε καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπεχείρησεν (οὐδὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἐπενόει) φοβηθεὶς τὸν πατέρα, πρός τε τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τῷ ὄρει τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβων καὶ τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς Δομιτίας τῆς Κορβούλωνος[1] θυγατρὸς προσέχων ἐτύγχανε· ταύτην γὰρ Λουκίου Λαμίου Αἰλιανοῦ[2] τοῦ ταύτης ἀνδρὸς ἀποσπάσας τότε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωμέναις ἐποιήσατο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἔγημεν.—Xiph. 204, 10–205, 2 R. St.

[1] Κορβούλωνος R. Steph., κουρβούλωνος VC.
[2] Αἰλιανοῦ I. Klein, αἰμιλιανοῦ VC.

funds from every source, but also continued from the very first to collect money himself, thus providing large amounts for the empire and at the same time acquiring large amounts for himself. A.D. 70

In the province of Germany various uprisings against the Romans took place that are not worth being mentioned by me, at least,[1] but there was one incident that must occasion surprise. A certain Julius Sabinus, one of the foremost of the Lingones, collected by his own efforts an independent force of his own and took the name of Caesar, claiming to be a descendant of Julius Caesar. Upon being defeated in several engagements he fled to a country estate, where he descended into a subterranean vault beneath a monument, which he first burned to the ground. His pursuers thought that he had perished in the flames, but as a matter of fact he remained hidden there with his wife for nine years and had two sons by her. The troubles in Germany were settled by Cerialis in the course of numerous battles, in one of which so great a multitude of Romans and barbarians was slain that the river flowing near by was dammed up by the bodies of the fallen.

Domitian became afraid of his father because of what he himself had done and far more because of what he had intended to do; for he was quite ambitious in his projects. So he spent most of his time in the neighbourhood of the Alban Mount and devoted himself to his passion for Domitia, the daughter of Corbulo. He had taken her away from her husband, Lucius Lamia Aelianus, and at this time had her for one of his mistresses, though later he married her.

[1] As Boissevain points out, this relative clause is probably due to Xiphilinus.

4 Ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ ἐπι-
ταχθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν αὐτοὺς λόγοις τισὶ
καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις προσποιήσασθαι, μὴ πεισθεῖσι
δὲ ἐπολέμει. καὶ μάχαις ταῖς[1] μὲν πρώταις
ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνισάμενος, εἶτα κρατήσας ἐπο-
λιόρκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦν δὲ τρία αὐτοῖς σὺν
2 τῷ τοῦ νεὼ περιβόλῳ τείχη. οἵ τε οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι
χώματά τε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐχώννυσαν καὶ μη-
χανήματα προσῆγον, τούς τε ἐπεκθέοντας ὁμόσε
ἰόντες ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους
ἐπόντας σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἀνεῖργον·
συχνοὺς γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βαρβάρων τινῶν βασι-
3 λέων πεμφθέντας εἶχον· καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ
μὲν αὐτόθεν πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοήθων,
οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐκ τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου, προσβεβοηθηκότες βέλη
τε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς τοὺς
δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς, σφοδρότερον ἅτε καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ,
4 ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐπεξιόντες, ᾗ καιρὸς ἦν, νυκτός τε
καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς μηχανὰς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, συχνοὺς
ἀπεκτίννυσαν, τόν τε χοῦν ὑπορύσσοντες ὑπὸ τὸ
τεῖχος ὑφεῖλκον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τοὺς μὲν βρό-
χοις ἀνέκλων[2] τοὺς δὲ ἁρπάγαις ἀνέσπων· ἑτέ-
ρων τὰς προσβολὰς σανίσι παχείαις συμπεπηγ-
μέναις τε καὶ σεσιδηρωμέναις, ἃς πρὸ τοῦ
5 τείχους καθίεσαν, ἀπέστρεφον. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖ-
στον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ

[1] ταῖς supplied by Rk.
[2] ἀνέκλων Bk., ἀνεῖλκον ABM.

Titus, who had been assigned to the war against A.D. 70
the Jews, undertook to win them over by certain representations and promises; but, as they would not yield, he now proceeded to wage war upon them. The first battles he fought were indecisive; then he got the upper hand and proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. This city had three walls, including the one that surrounded the temple. The Romans, accordingly, heaped up mounds against the outer wall, brought up their engines, joined battle with all who sallied forth to fight and repulsed them, and with their slings and arrows kept back all the defenders of the wall; for they had many slingers and bowmen that had been sent by some of the barbarian kings. The Jews also were assisted by many of their countrymen from the region round about and by many who professed the same religion, not only from the Roman empire but also from beyond the Euphrates; and these, also, kept hurling missiles and stones with no little force on account of their higher position, some being flung by the hand and some hurled by means of engines. They also made sallies both night and day, whenever occasion offered, set fire to the siege engines, slew many of their assailants, and undermined the Romans' mounds by removing the earth through tunnels driven under the wall. As for the battering-rams, sometimes they threw ropes around them and broke them off, sometimes they pulled them up with hooks, and again they used thick planks fastened together and strengthened with iron, which they let down in front of the wall and thus fended off the blows of still others. But the Romans suffered most hardship from the lack of water; for

φαῦλον καὶ πόρρωθεν ὕδωρ ἐπαγόμενοι. οἱ δὲ
Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἴσχυον· ὀρωρυγμέ-
νους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔνδοθεν ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη μέχρι
πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἶχον, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διεξιόντες
τοῖς τε ὑδρευομένοις ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀπο-
σκεδαννυμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο· οὓς ὁ Τίτος πάντας
ἀπέφραξε.

5 Κἀν τοῖς ἔργοις τούτοις πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο
ἑκατέρων καὶ ἔθνησκον, καὶ ὁ Τίτος αὐτὸς λίθῳ
τὸν ἀριστερὸν ὦμον ἐπλήγη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν
2 χεῖρα ἀσθενεστέραν εἶχεν. χρόνῳ δ' οὖν ποτε
τοῦ ἔξω περιβόλου οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέβησαν, ἐν
μέσῳ δὲ τῶν δύο περιβόλων στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον τεῖχος προσέβαλλον. οὐ μέντοι
καὶ ὁμοία ἡ πρόσμιξίς σφισιν ἐγίγνετο· ἀνα-
χωρήσαντες γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο πάντες ῥᾷον, ἅτε καὶ
ἐκ βραχυτέρας τῆς τοῦ κύκλου περιβολῆς, ἠμύ-
3 νοντο. ὁ οὖν Τίτος κήρυγμα αὖθις, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς
διδούς, ἐποιήσατο. ἐκεῖνοί τε οὖν καὶ ὣς ἐκαρ-
τέρουν, καὶ οἱ ἁλισκόμενοι οἵ τε αὐτομολοῦντές
σφων τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λανθανόντως
ἔφθειρον, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὕς που μόνους
ἀπολάβοιεν ἔσφαζον. ὁ δὲ Τίτος οὐκέτ' οὐδένα
4 αὐτῶν ἐδέχετο. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
τινὲς ἀδημονήσαντες οἷα ἐν χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ
προσυποτοπήσαντες ὅπερ ἐθρυλεῖτο, ἀπόρθητον
ὄντως τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, μετέστησαν· καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ σπανίζοντες τῆς τροφῆς, περιεῖπον
ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτομόλους ἔχειν.

their supply was of poor quality and had to be brought from a distance. The Jews found in their underground passages a source of strength; for they had these tunnels dug from inside the city and extending out under the walls to distant points in the country, and going out through them, they would attack the Romans' water-carriers and harass any scattered detachments. But Titus stopped up all these passages. A.D. 70

In the course of these operations many on both sides were wounded and killed. Titus himself was struck on the left shoulder by a stone, and as a result of this accident that arm was always weaker. In time, however, the Romans scaled the outside wall, and then, pitching their camp between this and the second circuit, proceeded to assault the latter. But here they found the conditions of fighting different; for now that all the besieged had retired behind the second wall, its defence proved an easier matter because its circuit was shorter. Titus therefore once more made a proclamation offering them immunity. But even then they held out, and those of them that were taken captive or deserted kept secretly destroying the Romans' water supply and slaying any troops that they could isolate and cut off from the rest; hence Titus would no longer receive any Jewish deserters. Meanwhile some of the Romans, too, becoming disheartened, as often happens in a protracted siege, and suspecting, furthermore, that the city was really impregnable, as was commonly reported, went over to the other side. The Jews, even though they were short of food, treated these recruits kindly, in order to be able to show that there were deserters to their side also.

6 *Διακοπέντος δὲ τοῦ τείχους μηχαναῖς κατὰ μὲν τοῦτο οὐδ' ὣς ἑάλωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐμπρήσαντες δέ τινα τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκοδομημάτων ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περαιτέρω, κἂν τοῦ κύκλου κρατήσωσι, προελθεῖν κωλύσοντες, τό τε τεῖχος ἐλυμήναντο καὶ τὸν περίβολον τὸν περὶ τὸ τεμένισμα ἄκοντες συγκατέφλεξαν, καὶ ἀνεῴχθη ἡ ἔσοδος ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν*
2 *νεὼν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ παραχρῆμα διὰ τὸ δεισιδαιμονῆσαι ἐσέδραμον, ἀλλ' ὀψέ ποτε, τοῦ Τίτου σφᾶς καταναγκάσαντος, εἴσω προεχώρησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ προθυμότερον, ὥσπερ τι ἕρμαιον τὸ πρός τε τῷ ναῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι πεσεῖν εὑρηκότες, ἠμύνοντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος κάτω ἐν τῷ προνάῳ, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς, οἵ θ' ἱερῆς ἐν αὐτῷ*
3 *τῷ μεγάρῳ τεταγμένοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐνικήθησαν, καίπερ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους μαχόμενοι, πρὶν ὑποπρησθῆναί τι τοῦ νεώ· τότε γὰρ ἐθελούσιοι οἱ μὲν ξίφεσί σφας τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιέπειρον, οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐφόνευον, ἄλλοι ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρῶντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐσεπήδων. καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσι μέν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκείνοις, οὐχ ὅτι ὄλεθρος ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκη καὶ σωτηρία εὐδαιμονία τε εἶναι, ὅτι τῷ ναῷ συναπ-*
7 *ώλλυντο.*[1] *ἑάλωσαν δ' οὖν καὶ ὣς ἄλλοι τε καὶ*

[1] *συναπώλλυντο* ABM (*οιν* over *υν* M), *συναπώλοντο* VC.

Though a breach was made in the wall by means A.D. 70 of engines, nevertheless, the capture of the place did not immediately follow even then. On the contrary, the defenders killed great numbers that tried to crowd through the opening, and they also set fire to some of the buildings near by, hoping thus to check the further progress of the Romans, even though they should gain possession of the wall. In this way they not only damaged the wall but at the same time unintentionally burned down the barrier around the sacred precinct, so that the entrance to the temple was now laid open to the Romans. Nevertheless, the soldiers because of their superstition did not immediately rush in; but at last, under compulsion from Titus, they made their way inside. Then the Jews defended themselves much more vigorously than before, as if they had discovered a piece of rare good fortune in being able to fight near the temple and fall in its defence. The populace was stationed below in the court, the senators[1] on the steps, and the priests in the sanctuary itself. And though they were but a handful fighting against a far superior force, they were not conquered until a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they met death willingly, some throwing themselves on the swords of the Romans, some slaying one another, others taking their own lives, and still others leaping into the flames. And it seemed to everybody, and especially to them, that so far from being destruction, it was victory and salvation and happiness to them that they perished along with the temple. Yet even under these conditions many captives were taken, among them

[1] *i.e.* the members of the Sanhedrin.

ὁ Βαργιορᾶς[1] ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν· καὶ μόνος γε οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐκολάσθη.

2 Οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφότεροι ἔλαβον, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδέτερος ἔσχε· καίτοι τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἁψῖδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.—Exc. U^G 41 (pp. 396–399), Xiph. 205, 2–13 R. St.

8 Τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐσελθόντος ὁ Νεῖλος παλαιστῇ πλέον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπελάγισεν· ὅπερ οὐπώποτε πλὴν ἅπαξ γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο. καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ αὐτὸς τυφλόν τέ τινα καὶ ἕτερον οὐκ ἀρτίχειρα,[2] προσελθόντας οἱ ἐξ ὄψεως ὀνειράτων, τοῦ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα πατήσας τοῦ δὲ τοῖν
2 ὀφθαλμοῖν προσπτύσας,[3] ὑγιεῖς ἀπέφηνε. τὸ μὲν θεῖον τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐσέμνυνεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἤχθοντο, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἰδίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ σκώπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ λοιδορεῖν. προσδοκήσαντες γὰρ μέγα τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι, ὅτι πρῶτοι αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεποιήκεσαν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν εὕροντο ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεπράσσοντο
3 χρήματα. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως παρ'

[1] Βαργιορᾶς Reim., καρπορᾶς V, βαρπορᾶς C, βασπόρης ABM.
[2] ἀρτίχειρα C (?), ἀντίχειρα V.

Bargiora,[1] their leader; and he was the only one A.D. 70
to be executed in connexion with the triumphal celebration.

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolinus. In consequence of this success both generals received the title of *imperator*, but neither got that of Judaïcus, although all the other honours that were fitting on the occasion of so magnificent a victory, including triumphal arches, were voted to them.

Following Vespasian's entry into Alexandria the Nile overflowed, having in one day risen a palm higher than usual; such an occurrence, it was said, had taken place only once before. Vespasian himself healed two persons, one having a withered hand, the other being blind, who had come to him because of a vision seen in dreams; he cured the one by stepping on his hand and the other by spitting upon his eyes. Yet, though Heaven was thus magnifying him, the Alexandrians, far from delighting in his presence, detested him so heartily that they were for ever mocking and reviling him. For they had expected to receive from him some great reward because they had been the first to make him emperor, but instead of securing anything they had additional contributions levied upon them. In the first place, he collected large

[1] Simon Bar Giora.

[3] προσπτύσας R. Steph., πηλὸν προσπτύσας VC.

αὐτῶν ἐξέλεξε, μηδένα πόρον, μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα μηδ' εἰ ἐπαίτιός τις ἦν, παραλείπων,[1] *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων πάντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως χρηματιζόμενος· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέλη τὰ μέν τινα ἐκλελειμμένα ἀνενεώσατο, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόμενα προσεπηύξησε, καινά τε ἕτερα προσκατεστήσατο.*
4 *τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηκόῳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα*[2] *ἐποίησεν. οἱ δ' οὖν*[3] *Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διά τε*[4] *ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν βασιλείων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέδοτο, χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὅτι "ἓξ ὀβολοὺς προσαιτεῖς," ὥστε καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπα-*
5 *σιανὸν καίπερ ἐπιεικέστατον ὄντα χαλεπῆναι, καὶ κελεῦσαι μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἓξ ὀβολοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα ἐσπραχθῆναι, βουλεύσασθαι δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτά τε γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα προπηλακισμὸν εἶχε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κατακεκλασμένου τοῦ τε ἀναπαίστου σφῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐκ ὀργήν*
6 *οἱ ἐνεποίει. τοῦ δ' οὖν*[5] *Τίτου ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτοὺς τούτων ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐφείσατο. ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο ἀλλὰ μέγα πάνυ ἀθρόοι ἐν συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἐξεβόησαν, εἰπόντες αὐτὸ τοῦτο "συγγινώσκομεν αὐτῷ· οὐ*
7 *γὰρ οἶδε καισαρεύειν." καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω τότ' ἐρριψοκινδύνουν, καὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας, ὑφ' ἧς ἀεί ποτε κακῶς ἀπαλλάσσουσιν, ἄδην ἐνεφοροῦντο,*

[1] *μηδένα—παραλείπων* Bs., *μηδένα πόρον μηδ' εἰ ἐπαίτης τις ἦν παραλιπών* VC, *μηδε απορον μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα .:. μηδ' ειπαιτιός τις ἦν παραλείπων* cod. Peir.

[2] *τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα* Zon., *ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ τοῦτ'* VC., om. cod. Peir.

[3] *δ' οὖν* Bk., *γοῦν* VC.

sums from them in various ways, overlooking no source, however trivial or however reprehensible it might be, but drawing upon every source, sacred and profane alike, from which money could be secured. He also renewed many taxes that had fallen into disuse, increased many that were customary, and introduced still other new ones. And he adopted this same course later in the rest of the subject territory, in Italy, and in Rome itself. Hence the Alexandrians, both for these reasons and also because he had sold the greater part of the palace, were angry and hurled many taunts at him, this among others: "Six obols[1] more you demand of us." Vespasian, consequently, although the most good-natured of men, became angry, and gave orders that six obols should be exacted from every man, and he thought seriously about punishing them besides. For the words in themselves were insulting enough, and there was something about their broken anapaestic rhythm that roused his ire. Titus, however, begged that they might be forgiven and Vespasian spared them. Yet they would not let him alone, but in a crowded assembly all loudly shouted in chorus at Titus these words: "We forgive him; for he knows not how to play the Caesar." So the Alexandrians at that time went on with these foolhardy demonstrations, took their fill without restraint of that impudent licence which is always working to their detriment, and abused the A.D. 70

[1] Or perhaps sesterces. Dio regularly uses δραχμή (six obols) as the equivalent of the denarius (four sesterces). The point of the remark is not clear.

[4] τε Reim., τε οὖν cod. Peir.
[5] δ' οὖν cod. Peir., γοῦν VC.

9 *τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιεικείᾳ ἀποχρώμενοι· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν εἴα, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέστειλε, τήν τε ἀτιμίαν τῶν καταψηφισθέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἀσεβείαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων, τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ὁμοίως, ἀπαλείφων, καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ*
2 *τοιούτοις ἐγκλήμασι καταλύων. τούς τε ἀστρολόγους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξώρισε, καίτοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρίστοις αὐτῶν χρώμενος αὐτός,*[1] *ὥστε καὶ διὰ Βάρβιλλόν τινα ἄνδρα τοιουτότροπον ἀγῶνα τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἱερὸν ἄγειν συγχωρῆσαι· ὅπερ οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ πόλει ἔνειμεν.*—Xiph. 205, 13–206, 7 R. St., Exc. Val. 271 (p. 701 sq.).

2[a] *Τὴν μὲν οὖν Αἴγυπτον δι' ὀλίγου κατεστήσατο, καὶ σῖτον πολὺν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς· τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τίτον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλελοιπὼς πορθῆσαι αὐτά, τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνέμεινεν ἅλωσιν, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος ἐπανέλθῃ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην. τριβομένου δὲ χρόνου ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὸν μὲν Τίτον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁλκάδος ἐπιβὰς ἐς Λυκίαν ἔπλευσε, κἀκεῖθεν τὰ μὲν πεζῇ τὰ δὲ ναυτιλλόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκομίσθη.*—Zon. 11, 17, p. 52, 28–53, 8 D.

3 *Ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσεληλύθει, καὶ Μουκιανῷ μὲν ἄλλοις τε τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐνέτυχε, Δομιτιανῷ δὲ ἐν Βενεουεντῷ.*[2] *ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος ὧν τε ἐφρόνει καὶ ὧν ἐπεποιήκει οὔτε ἐθάρσει, καὶ*
4 *προσέτι καὶ μωρίαν ἔστιν ὅτε προσεποιεῖτο. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ χωρίῳ τὰ πλεῖστα διάγων ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ γελοῖα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὰς*

[1] *αὐτός* Polak, *οὕτως* cod. Peir.

good nature of the emperor. But Vespasian soon ceased to notice them. He sent a despatch to Rome rescinding the disfranchisement of those who had been condemned by Nero and succeeding rulers for acts of *maiestas,* as they were called. This order applied to the living and to the dead alike; and he put an end to the indictments based on such complaints. He banished the astrologers from Rome, even though he was in the habit of consulting all the best of them himself, and, by way of showing a favour to Barbillus, a man of that profession, had even permitted the Ephesians to celebrate some sacred games, a privilege that he granted to no other city. A.D. 70

He soon restored order in Egypt and sent thence a large supply of grain to Rome. He had left his son Titus at Jerusalem to storm the place, and was waiting for its capture in order that he might return to Rome with him. But as time dragged on and the siege continued, he left Titus in Palestine and took passage himself on a merchantman; in this manner he sailed as far as Lycia, and from there he proceeded partly by land and partly by sea to Brundisium.

Vespasian had later come to Rome, after meeting Mucianus and other prominent men at Brundisium and Domitian at Beneventum. The latter, because of his consciousness both of what he was planning and of what he had already done, was ill at ease, and furthermore he sometimes even feigned madness. At any rate, he spent most of his time at the Alban Villa and did many absurd things, one of them being

[2] Βενεουεντῷ H. Steph., βενουέντω VC.

μυίας γραφείοις κατεκέντει.[1] *τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἱκανῶς τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ ἐνδείκνυται, ἀναγκαίως ἔγραψα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσας ὁμοίως αὐτὸ ἐποίει. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀχαρίτως τις εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα "τί πράττει Δομιτιανός*[2] *;" ὅτι "ἰδιάζει τε,*[3] *καὶ οὐδὲ μυῖα αὐτῷ παρακάθηται." ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκείνου μὲν ἐταπείνου τὸ φρόνημα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτης, μνήμῃ τῆς προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης, ἐδεξιοῦτο.*—Xiph. 206, 7–20 R. St.

1ª *Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχηκε δωρεάς, καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἤδη ἐφθαρμένα ἐπανεσκεύαζε, καὶ συντελουμένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέγραφεν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πρώτως δομησαμένων.*—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 9–14 D.

2 *Τόν τε νεὼν τὸν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξατο, αὐτός τε*[4] *τοῦ χοῦ πρῶτος ἐκφορήσας καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τὸ αὐτὸ*[5] *τοῦτο ποιῆσαι κελεύσας, ἵνα καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ πλήθει ἀπαραίτητον τὸ διακόνημα γένηται.*—Xiph. 206, 20–24 R. St.

2ª *Τάς τε οὐσίας τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων τοῖς παισὶν ἐκείνων ἢ τοῖς ἄλλως οἰκείοις ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια τὰ παλαιὰ τὰ τῷ δημοσίῳ προσήκοντα προσδιέφθειρε.*—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 14–18 D.

3 *Μεγαλοφρονέστατα δὲ ἀεί ποτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν*

[1] *κατεκέντει* C (?), *κατεκέντα* V.
[2] *Δομιτιανός* R. Steph., *δομετιανός* VC.

to impale flies on a stylus. Unworthy as this incident is of the dignity of history, yet, because it shows his character so well and particularly because he still continued the practice after he became emperor, I have felt obliged to record it. In view of this habit of his, someone, in answer to the question, "Where is Domitian?" made the witty reply: "He is living in retirement, without even a fly to keep him company." Vespasian now proceeded to humble this son's pride, but greeted all the rest, not as an emperor, but as a private citizen; for he was mindful of his own past fortune. A.D. 70

On reaching Rome he bestowed gifts upon both the soldiers and the populace. He also repaired the sacred precincts and the public works which had suffered injury and rebuilt such as had already fallen into ruin; and upon completing them he inscribed upon them, not his own name, but the names of those who had originally built them.

He immediately began to construct the temple on the Capitoline. He was himself the first to carry out a load of soil, thereby evidently bidding all the other leading citizens to do likewise, in order that the rest of the populace might have no excuse for shirking this service.

The property of his opponents who had fallen in the various conflicts he left to their children or to other kinsmen of theirs; furthermore, he destroyed the notes that were long overdue belonging to the public treasury.

Although he invariably expended in most munificent

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[3] τε H. Steph., τί VC.
[4] τε Sylb., τι VC.
[5] τὸ αὐτὸ Sylb., τὰ αὐτὰ VC.

ὅσα ἐχρῆν ἀναλώσας, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις πολυτελέστατα διαθείς, εὐτελέστατα διῃτᾶτο[1] *καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ἐδαπάνα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις ἑφθόν τι πλὴν ὀσπρίων πιπράσκεσθαι ἐπέτρεπε. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι τὰς συλλογὰς τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονὰς ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς τοῦ δήμου χρείας ἐποιεῖτο.*—Xiph. 206, 24–30 R. St.

3a "Ὅτι Βεσπασιανὸς *γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανεν ὁσάκις ἀναλίσκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι "ἐκ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ αὐτὰ δαπανῶ."*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 100 (p. 219 Mai = p. 201, 22–23 Dind.).

3b Ἦν *δὲ οὔτε ἐξ εὐγενῶν οὔτε πλούσιος.*—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 20–21 D.

4 Καταστάσει *δὲ τοῦ βίου τοιᾷδε ἐχρῆτο. ὀλίγα μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ᾤκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς κήποις τοῖς καλουμένοις Σαλουστιείοις*[2] *διέτριβε, κἀνταῦθα τὸν βουλόμενον οὐχ ὅτι τῶν*
5 *βουλευτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσεδέχετο, καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἕω ἔν τε τῇ εὐνῇ κείμενος συνεγίνετο, καὶ ἕτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτὸν ἠσπάζοντο. αἵ τε θύραι τῶν βασιλείων ἠνεῳγμέναι διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἦσαν, καὶ φρουρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαθειστήκει.*[3] *ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον διὰ παντὸς ἐφοίτα, καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπεκοίνου, κἀν*[4] *τῇ ἀγορᾷ πολλάκις ἐδί-*
6 *καζεν. ὅσα τε μὴ ἐδύνατο αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἀναλέγεσθαι, ἢ καὶ ὅσα ἀπὼν ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, διὰ τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκέλευεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, τιμῶν κἀν τούτῳ αὐτήν. συσσίτους τε ἔκ τε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων*

fashion all that was requisite for the public welfare A.D. 70
and carried out the festivals on a most sumptuous scale, his own style of living was very far from costly and he spent no more than was absolutely necessary. Therefore even in the taverns he allowed nothing cooked to be sold except pulse. Thus he made it most evident that he was amassing money, not for his own enjoyment, but for the needs of the people.

Vespasian was laughed at every time he would say, when spending money: "I am paying for this out of my own purse."

He was neither of noble birth nor rich.

The general routine of life that he followed was as follows. He lived but little in the palace, spending most of his time in the Gardens of Sallust. There he received anybody who desired to see him, not only senators but also people in general. With his intimate friends he would hold converse even before dawn while lying in bed; and others would greet him on the streets. The doors of the palace stood open all day long and no guard was stationed at them. He regularly attended the meetings of the senate, whose members he consulted on all matters, and he frequently dispensed justice in the Forum. Whatever messages he was prevented by old age from reading and whatever communications he sent to the senate when unable to be present, he usually caused to be read by his sons, thus showing honour to that body even in this detail. Every day he made many of the senators and others his guests at table, and he himself

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[1] διῃτᾶτο Zon., διὰ τοῦτο VC.

[2] Σαλουστιείοις Dind. (Σαλλουστιείοις), σαλουστείοις VC.

[3] ἐγκαθειστήκει Reim., ἐγκαθεστήκει VC.

[4] κἂν Sylb., καὶ VC.

καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συχνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐδείπνει.
11 *τό τε σύμπαν τῇ μὲν*[1] *προνοίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο, ἐς δὲ δὴ τἆλλα πάντα κοινὸς καὶ ἰσοδίαιτός σφισιν ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἔσκωπτε δημοτικῶς καὶ ἀντεσκώπτετο ἡδέως· εἴ τέ τινα γράμματα, οἷα εἴωθεν ἀνώνυμα ἐς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, προπηλακισμὸν αὐτῷ φέροντα, ἐξετέθη ποτέ, ἀντεξετίθει τὰ πρόσφορα μηδὲν*
2 *ταραττόμενος. τοῦ τε Φοίβου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογουμένου ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐσκυθρωπακότα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐφ' οἷς ἀσχημονοῦντα ἑώρα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐκέλευσε πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελθεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου ὅποι, "ἐς κόρακας" εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ τούτου οὖν ἀπολογουμένου τοῦ Φοίβου οὔτε τι κακὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο, οὔτε ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι "ἐς κόρακας*
3 *ἄπελθε." τοῦ δὲ Οὐολογαίσου*[2] *ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ οὕτως "βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Φλαουίῳ Οὐεσπασιανῷ χαίρειν," οὔτε τι αὐτὸν ᾐτιάσατο, καὶ ἀντέγραψε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, μηδὲν τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνομάτων προσθείς.*

12 *Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρίσκος Ἑλουίδιος ὁ τοῦ Θρασέου γαμβρός, τοῖς τε στωικοῖς δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θρασέου παρρησίαν οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ*[3] *μιμούμενος, στρατηγῶν δὲ τηνικαῦτα, οὔτε τι πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔδρα καὶ προσέτι καὶ βλασφημῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καί ποτε*

[1] *μὲν* Zon., om. VC.
[2] Οὐολογαίσου R. Steph., *οὐολογαίσσου* VC.
[3] *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ* Bs., *οὐ σὺν καιρῷ* VC.

often dined at the houses of his intimate friends. In short, he was looked upon as emperor only by reason of his oversight of the public business, whereas in all other respects he was democratic and lived on a footing of equality with his subjects. For example, he indulged in jests like a man of the people and enjoyed jokes at his own expense; and whenever any anonymous bulletins, such as are regularly addressed to the emperors, were posted, if they contained scurrilous references to himself, he would simply post a reply in kind, without showing the least resentment. One day Phoebus approached him to make an apology. It seems that once, during Nero's reign, Vespasian while in the theatre in Greece had frowned when he saw the emperor behaving himself in unseemly fashion, whereupon Phoebus had angrily bidden him go away. And when Vespasian asked, "Go where?" Phoebus had replied, "To the deuce."[1] So when Phoebus now apologized for this remark, Vespasian did him no harm, and gave him no answer other than this same retort: "To the deuce with you." Again, when Vologaesus sent him a letter of which the salutation ran thus: "Arsaces, King of Kings, to Flavius Vespasian, Greeting," the emperor did not rebuke him at all but wrote a reply in the same style, adding none of his imperial titles. A.D. 70

Helvidius Priscus, the son-in-law of Thrasea, had been brought up in the doctrines of the Stoics and imitated Thrasea's frankness of speech, sometimes unseasonably. He was at this time praetor, but instead of doing aught to increase the honour due to the emperor he would not cease reviling him. Therefore

[1] See lxiii (lxii), 10, 1a.

διὰ τοῦτο οἱ δήμαρχοι συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις παρέδοσαν, συνεχύθη τε ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ δακρύσας ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐξῆλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν[1] ὅτι "ἐμὲ μὲν υἱὸς διαδέξεται, ἢ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος."—Xiph. 206, 30–208, 1 R. St.

1[a] Τῶν δ' Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπανελθὼν τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἔπεμψαν· συνέπεμπε δέ σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος. μετὰ τοῦτο διδασκάλους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῆς Λατίνων καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας κατέστησε, μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέροντας. —Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 29–54, 3 D.

13 Ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν στωικῶν καλουμένων λόγων προαχθέντες, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ κυνικός, συχνὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς παροῦσι δημοσίᾳ, τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προσχήματι καταχρώμενοι, διελέγοντο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ὑποδιέφθειρόν τινας, ἔπεισεν ὁ Μουκιανὸς[2] τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν πάντας τοὺς τοιούτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, εἰπὼν ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλολογίᾳ τινὶ πολλὰ κατ' αὐτῶν.—Xiph. 208, 1–7 R. St.

2, 4 Ὅτι ὁ Μουκιανὸς τιμᾶσθαι ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὑπὲρ πάντας ἤθελεν, καὶ ἤχθετο εἰ καὶ ὁστισοῦν οὐχ ὅτι ὑβρίσειεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ οὐ μεγάλως ἀγήλειε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἄπληστος ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντάς τι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἦν, οὕτω καὶ μίσει ἀγριωτάτῳ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τοιούτους ἐχρῆτο.—Exc. Val. 272 (p. 702).

13, 1[a] Ὅτι Μουκιανὸς πρὸς Βεσπασιανὸν κατὰ τῶν

the tribunes once arrested him and gave him in charge A.D. 70
of their assistants, a procedure at which Vespasian was overcome by emotion and went out of the senate-chamber in tears, saying merely: "*My* successor shall be my son or no one at all." [1]

After Jerusalem had been captured Titus returned A.D. 71
to Italy and both he and his father celebrated a triumph, riding in a chariot. Domitian, who was consul, also took part in the celebration, mounted upon a charger. Vespasian afterwards established in Rome teachers of both Latin and Greek learning, who drew their pay from the public treasury.

Inasmuch as many others, too, including Demetrius the Cynic, actuated by the Stoic principles, were taking advantage of the name of philosophy to teach publicly many doctrines inappropriate to the times, and in this way were subtly corrupting some of their hearers, Mucianus, prompted rather by anger than by any passion for philosophy, inveighed at length against them and persuaded Vespasian to expel all such persons from the city.

Mucianus desired to be honoured by all and above all, so that he was displeased not only when any man whatever insulted him, but also when anyone failed to extol him greatly. Hence, just as he could never honour enough those who assisted him to even the smallest extent, so his hatred was most fierce against all who were not disposed to do so.

Mucianus made a great number of remarkable

[1] Cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 25.

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[1] ὑπειπὼν Bs., εἰπὼν VC, ἐπειπὼν exc. Vat.
[2] Μουκιανὸς Zon., μινουκιανὸς VC.

στωικῶν πλεῖστά τε εἶπε καὶ θαυμάσια, ὡς ὅτι αὐχήματος κενοῦ εἰσι πεπληρωμένοι, κἂν τὸν πώγωνά τις αὐτῶν καθῇ καὶ τὰς ὀφρύας ἀνασπάσῃ τό τε τριβώνιον ἀναβάληται καὶ ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσῃ, σοφὸς εὐθὺς ἀνδρεῖος δίκαιός φησιν εἶναι, καὶ πνεῖ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγα, κἂν τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστηται.[1] *καὶ πάντας ὑπερορῶσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν εὐγενῆ τηθαλλαδοῦν*[2] *τὸν δὲ ἀγενῆ σμικρόφρονα, καὶ τὸν μὲν καλὸν ἀσελγῆ τὸν δὲ αἰσχρὸν εὐφυᾶ, τὸν δὲ πλούσιον πλεονέκτην τὸν δὲ πένητα δουλοπρεπῆ καλοῦσι.*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 106 (p. 220 Mai = p. 202, 13–24 Dind.).

2 Καὶ *πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ* Οὐε*σπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ* Μουσωνίου, *ἐκ τῆς* Ῥώμης *ἐξέβαλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ* Δημήτριον *καὶ τὸν* Ὀστιλιανὸν[3] *καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισε. καὶ ὁ μὲν* Ὀστιλιανὸς *εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἐπαύσατο περὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀκούσας (ἔτυχε γὰρ διαλεγόμενός τινι), ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κατὰ τῆς μοναρχίας*
3 *κατέδραμεν, ὅμως παραχρῆμα μετέστη· τῷ δὲ* Δημητρίῳ *μηδ' ὡς ὑπείκοντι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ* Οὐε*σπασιανὸς λεχθῆναι ὅτι "σὺ μὲν πάντα ποιεῖς ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω."*—Xiph. 208, 7–15 R. St.

12 2 *Ὅτι οὐκ ἥκιστα ἔνδηλον ἐγένετο ὅτι* Πρίσκον *τὸν* Ἑλουίδιον[4] *οὐ μᾶλλόν τι δι' ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ, οὓς ὕβρισεν, ἐμίσησεν ὁ* Οὐε*σπασιανός, ἀλλ' ὅτι ταραχώδης τε ἦν καὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ προσέκειτο, βασιλείας τε ἀεὶ κατηγόρει καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπῄνει, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἀκόλουθα*

[1] *ἐπίστηται* v. Herw., *ἐπίσταται* cod.

statements to Vespasian against the Stoics, asserting, for instance, that they are full of empty boasting, and that if one of them lets his beard grow long, elevates his eyebrows, wears his coarse mantle thrown back over his shoulder and goes barefooted, he straightway lays claim to wisdom, bravery and righteousness, and gives himself great airs, even though he may not know either his letters or how to swim, as the saying goes. They look down upon everybody and call a man of good family a mollycoddle, the low-born slender-witted, a handsome person licentious, an ugly person a simpleton, the rich man greedy, and the poor man servile. A.D. 71–75

And Vespasian immediately expelled from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius; Demetrius and Hostilianus he even deported to islands. Hostilianus, though he decidedly would not desist when he was told about the sentence of exile (he happened to be conversing with somebody), but merely inveighed all the more strongly against monarchy, nevertheless straightway withdrew. Demetrius, on the contrary, would not yield even then, and Vespasian commanded that this message should be given to him: "You are doing everything to force me to kill you, but I do not slay a barking dog."

It became strikingly clear that Vespasian hated Helvidius Priscus, not so much on his own account or that of his friends whom the man had abused, as because he was a turbulent fellow who cultivated the favour of the rabble and was for ever denouncing royalty and praising democracy. Helvidius' behaviour,

[2] *τηθαλλαδοῦν* Bk., *τιθαλλωδον* cod.

[3] *'Οστιλιανὸν—'Οστιλιανὸς* Bs., *ὀστιλιανὸν—ὀστίλιος* VC.

[4] *'Ελουίδιον* Val. (*'Ελβίδιον*), *ἔλβιον* cod. Peir.

τούτοις καὶ συνίστη τινάς, ὥσπερ που φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ὂν τό τε τοὺς κρατοῦντας προπηλακίζειν καὶ τὸ τὰ πλήθη ταράττειν τό τε τὰ[1] καθεστηκότα συγχεῖν καὶ τὸ νεώτερα αὐτοῖς
3 πράγματα ἐπεσάγειν. ἦν γὰρ τοῦ Θρασέου γαμβρὸς καὶ ζηλοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο, πολὺ δ' αὐτοῦ ἡμάρτανε. Θρασέας μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ὢν οὐκ ἠρέσκετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδ' ὣς ὑβριστικὸν ἔλεγεν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἔπραττεν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον προσκοινωνεῖν οἱ τῶν δρωμένων οὐκ ἠξίου· οὗτος δὲ Οὐεσπασιανῷ ἤχθετο, καὶ οὔτ' ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ κοινῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπείχετο, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐποίει ἐθανάτα, καὶ πολλὰ πράττων ἔμελλέ ποτε δίκην αὐτῶν δώσειν.—Exc. Val. 273 (p. 702).

14 Τότε δὲ καὶ Καινὶς ἡ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παλλακὴ μετήλλαξεν. ἐμνημόνευσα δὲ αὐτῆς ὅτι τε πιστοτάτη ἦν καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἄριστα ἐπεφύκει. πρὸς γοῦν τὴν δέσποιναν τὴν Ἀντωνίαν[2] τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου μητέρα, κρύφα τι δι' αὐτῆς τῷ Τιβερίῳ
2 περὶ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ[3] γράψασαν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπαλειφθῆναι εὐθύς, ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγχος ὑπολειφθῇ, κελεύσασαν, "μάτην, ὦ δέσποινα," ἔφη "τοῦτο προσέταξας· πάντα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἂν ὑπαγορεύσῃς μοι, ἔν τε τῇ ψυχῇ ἀεὶ
3 φέρω καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐξαλειφθῆναι δύναται." τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτῆς ἐθαύμασα, καὶ προσέτι ὅτι καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐτῇ ὑπερέχαιρε, πλεῖστόν τε διὰ τοῦτο ἴσχυσε, καὶ πλοῦτον ἀμύθητον ἤθροι-

[1] τὰ Val., τωι cod. Peir.
[2] Ἀντωνίαν Sylb., ἀντωνίναν VC.
[3] Σεϊανοῦ Bs., σιανοῦ VC.

moreover, was consistent with this opinion of him; A.D. 71–75
for he banded various men together, as if it were the function of philosophy to insult those in power, to stir up the multitudes, to overthrow the established order of things, and to bring about a revolution. He was Thrasea's son-in-law and affected to emulate his conduct, but he fell far short of doing so. For whereas Thrasea, though living in Nero's time and displeased with him, nevertheless had neither said nor done anything that was insulting to him, save merely that he refused to share in his practices, Helvidius, on the other hand, bore a grudge against Vespasian and would not let him alone either in private or in public. Thus by his conduct he was courting death and by his meddlesome interference he was destined eventually to pay the penalty.

It was at this time that Caenis, the concubine of Vespasian, died. I mention her because she was exceedingly faithful and was gifted with a most excellent memory. Here is an illustration. Her mistress Antonia, the mother of Claudius, had once employed her as secretary in writing a secret letter to Tiberius about Sejanus and had immediately ordered the message to be erased, in order that no trace of it might be left. Thereupon she replied: "It is useless, mistress, for you to give this command; for not only all this but also whatever else you dictate to me I always carry in my mind and it can never be erased." And not only for this reason does she seem to me to have been a remarkable woman, but also because Vespasian took such excessive delight in her. This gave her the greatest influence and she amassed untold wealth, so that it was even

σεν, ὥστε καὶ νομισθῆναι ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρηματίζετο· πάμπολλα γὰρ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐλάμβανε, τοῖς μὲν ἀρχὰς τοῖς δέ ἐπιτροπείας στρατείας ἱερωσύνας, ἤδη δέ τισι καὶ ἀποφάσεις
4 αὐτοῦ πιπράσκουσα. ἀπέκτεινε μὲν γὰρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδένα, ἔσωσε δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν διδόντων· καὶ ἡ μὲν λαμβάνουσα ἐκείνη ἦν, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἑκὼν αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔπραττεν,[1] ὧν ὀλίγα δείγματος ἕνεκα διηγήσομαι.
5 ἀνδριάντα γὰρ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων στῆσαί οἱ ψηφισαμένων τινῶν προέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔφη "δότε μοι τὸ ἀργύριον· ἡ γὰρ βάσις αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἐστί." καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῷ τοῦ οὔρου[2] τέλει, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατεδείχθη, εἶπε, λαβὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς πεπορισμένους καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ, "ἰδού, τέκνον, εἴ τι ὄζουσιν."

15 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἕκτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη, ὅ τε κολοσσὸς ὠνομασμένος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἱδρύθη· φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τό τε ὕψος ἑκατὸν ποδῶν καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἱ μὲν[3] τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος οἱ
2 δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἔχειν. σφαγὰς δὲ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς θηρίων μὲν ἐποιεῖτο ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, μονομαχίαις δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ[4] πάνυ τι ἔχαιρε, καίτοι τοῦ Τίτου ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεανίσκων παιδιαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ τελουμέναις σκιαμα-

[1] ἔπραττεν Leuncl., ἔπραττον VC.
[2] οὔρου R. Steph., οὐίου VC.
[3] οἱ μὲν R. Steph., ὁ μὲν VC.

thought that he made money through Caenis herself as his intermediary. For she received vast sums from many sources, sometimes selling governorships, sometimes procuratorships, generalships and priesthoods, and in some instances even imperial decisions. For although Vespasian killed no one on account of his money, he did spare the lives of many who gave it; and while it was Caenis who received the money, people suspected that Vespasian willingly allowed her to do as she did. This was inferred from his other acts, a few of which, for the sake of illustration, I will relate. When some persons voted to erect to him a statue costing a million, he held out his hand and said: "Give me the money; this [1] is its pedestal." And to Titus, who expressed his indignation at the tax placed upon public urinals,—one of the new taxes that had been established,—he said, as he picked up some gold pieces that had been realized from this source and showed them to him: "See, my son, if they have any smell." A.D. 71–75

In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the "Colossus" was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others. Vespasian often gave wild-beast hunts in the theatres, but he did not take much pleasure in armed combats between men; yet Titus had once in the course of the youthful sports which were celebrated in his native district engaged in a sham fight in heavy A.D. 75

[1] *i.e.* the hollowed hand; cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 23.

[4] *οὐ* late hand in C, om. VC.

3 χήσαντός ποτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλιηνὸν ὅπλοις. τοῖς
δὲ Πάρθοις πολεμωθεῖσι πρός τινας καὶ τῆς
παρ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐβοήθησεν,
εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν.
Βερενίκη[1] δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τε ἤνθει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀγρίππα
4 ἦλθε· καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηγικῶν τιμῶν ἠξιώθη, ἡ
δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ᾤκησε καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγί-
γνετο. προσεδόκα δὲ γαμηθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ
πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει, ὥστ'
ἐκεῖνον δυσχεραίνοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τού-
5 τοις αἰσθόμενον ἀποπέμψασθαι αὐτήν. ἄλλως
τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἐθρυλεῖτο, καί τινες καὶ τότε
σοφισταὶ κύνειοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ πως παραδύντες,
Διογένης μὲν πρότερος ἐς τὸ θέατρον πλῆρες
ἀνδρῶν ἐσῆλθε καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς λοιδορήσας
ἐμαστιγώθη, Ἡρᾶς δὲ μετ' αὐτόν, ὡς οὐδὲν πλεῖον
πεισόμενος, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα κυνηδὸν ἐξέκραγε,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη.
16 Καθ' ὃν δὴ καιρὸν ταῦτα ἐγένετο· οἶνός τε
γὰρ ἐν καπηλείῳ τινὶ τοσοῦτος ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀγγεῖον
ὑπερεχύθη ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν προχωρῆσαι,[2]
καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γαλάτης ὁ Καίσαρά
ποτε ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας καὶ ἐς ὅπλα χωρήσας
ἡττηθείς τε καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατακρυφθεὶς
2 ἐφωράθη[3] τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη. συν-
απέθανε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Πεπονίλα, ἥπερ

[1] Βερενίκη Leuncl., βερονίκη VC.
[2] προχωρῆσαι exc. Salm., προσχωρῆσαι VC.
[3] ἐφωράθη V, ἐφανερώθη C.

armour with Alienus. When the Parthians, who A.D. 75
had become involved in war with some neighbours, asked for his help, he would not go to their aid, declaring that it was not proper for him to interfere in others' affairs.

Berenice was at the very height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa.[1] The latter was given the rank of praetor, while she dwelt in the palace, cohabiting with Titus. She expected to marry him and was already behaving in every respect as if she were his wife; but when he perceived that the Romans were displeased with the situation, he sent her away. For, in addition to all the other talk that there was, certain sophists of the Cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city at this time, too; and first Diogenes, entering the theatre when it was full, denounced the pair in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; and after him Heras, expecting no harsher punishment, gave vent to many senseless yelpings in true Cynic[2] fashion, and for this was beheaded.

At this same period two other incidents occurred: A.D. 79
such a quantity of wine overflowed its cask in a certain tavern that it ran out into the street; and Sabinus, the Gaul who, as said before,[3] had once styled himself Caesar and after taking up arms had been defeated and had hidden himself in the monument, was discovered and brought to Rome. With him perished also his wife Peponila, who had pre-

[1] This Agrippa, known also as Herodes II., was an intimate friend of the Jewish historian Josephus and a companion of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem. It was before him that the Apostle Paul made his defence in A.D. 60.

[2] Literally "dog-like."

[3] In chap. 3.

που καὶ διεσέσωστο αὐτόν, καίτοι καὶ τὰ παιδία τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ προβαλοῦσα καὶ ἐλεεινότατόν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον εἰποῦσα, ὅτι "ταῦτα, Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ καὶ ἔθρεψα, ἵνα σε πλείονες ἱκετεύσωμεν." δακρῦσαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠλεήθησαν.

3 *Κἀν τούτῳ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν ὑπό τε τοῦ Ἀλιηνοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, καίπερ φίλους τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νομίζων καὶ πάσῃ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφθονωτάτῃ τιμῇ χρώμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀπέθανε· φωραθέντες*[1] *γὰρ Ἀλιηνὸς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ,*[2] *ἐξαναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ συσσιτίου, εὐθὺς ἀπεσφάγη τοῦ Τίτου κελεύσαντος, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι τῆς νυκτὸς νεοχμῶσαι (τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν συχνοὺς προπαρεσκεύα-*
4 *στο), Μάρκελλος δὲ κριθεὶς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ καταδικασθεὶς ἀπέτεμε τὸν λαιμὸν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ξυρῷ. οὕτω που τοὺς φύσει κακοὺς οὐδ' αἱ εὐεργεσίαι νικῶσιν, ὁπότε κἀκεῖνοι τῷ τοσαῦτα εὐηργετηκότι σφᾶς ἐπεβούλευσαν.*—Xiph. 208, 15–210, 14.

[1] *φωραθέντες* C Zon., *φανερωθέντες* V.
[2] *τῷ βασιλείῳ* VC, *τοῖς βασιλείοις* Zon.

viously saved his life. She threw her children at A.D. 79
Vespasian's feet and delivered a most pitiful plea in their behalf: "These little ones, Caesar, I bore and reared in the monument, that we might be a greater number to supplicate you." Yet, though she caused both him and the rest to weep, no mercy was shown to the family.

Meantime the emperor was the object of a conspiracy on the part of both Alienus and Marcellus, although he considered them among his best friends and bestowed every honour upon them without stint. But he did not die at their hands, for they were detected. Alienus was slain at once, in the imperial residence itself, as he rose from a meal with his intended victim. Titus issued this order, desiring to forestall any act of revolution that night; for Alienus had already got many of the soldiers in readiness. Marcellus was brought to trial before the senate and was condemned, whereupon he cut his own throat with a razor. Thus not even kindness can subdue those who are naturally vicious, as is shown by the plotting of these men against the one who had done them so many kindnesses.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXVI

17 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δέ, ὡς μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, νοσήσας οὐ τῇ ποδάγρᾳ τῇ συνήθει ἀλλὰ πυρετοῖς μετήλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τῶν Σαβίνων τοῖς Κουτιλίοις ὠνομασμένοις, ὡς δέ τινες καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Τίτου, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἁδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐφήμισαν, φάρμακον
2 ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ λαβών. ἐγεγόνει δὲ σημεῖα αὐτῷ φέροντα ἐς τοῦτο ὅ τε ἀστὴρ ὁ[1] κομήτης ἐπὶ πολὺ φαντασθεὶς καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου αὐτόματον ἀνοιχθέν. τῶν δὲ ἰατρῶν ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῷ ὅτι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὁμοίᾳ νοσῶν ἐχρῆτο καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττε, "τὸν αὐτοκράτορα" ἔφη "ἑστῶτα
3 δεῖ ἀποθνήσκειν." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τοῦ κομήτου τι διαλαλοῦντας "οὐκ ἔμοιγε" εἶπεν "ἀλλὰ τῷ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεῖ προσημαίνει· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κομᾷ, ἐγὼ δὲ φαλακρός εἰμι." ἐπειδή τε ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι τελευτήσει, ἔφη "θεὸς ἤδη γίνομαι." ἔζησε δὲ ἔτη ἐννέα καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ,[2] ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἔτη δέκα ἡμερῶν
4 ἓξ δέοντα. κἀκ τούτου συμβαίνει ἐνιαυτόν τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Νέρωνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. ἔγραψα δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ μή τινας ἀπατηθῆναι, τὴν ἐξαρίθμησιν τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς

[1] ὁ supplied by Bk.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXVI

It was after the events just narrated that Vespasian fell sick, not, if the truth be known, of his accustomed gout, but of a fever, and passed away at Aquae Cutiliae in the Sabine country. Some, however, in the endeavour falsely to incriminate Titus,—among them the Emperor Hadrian,—spread the report that he was poisoned at a banquet. Portents had occurred indicating his approaching end, such as the comet which was visible for a long time and the opening of the mausoleum of Augustus of its own accord. When his physicians chided him for continuing his usual course of living during his illness and attending to all the duties that belonged to his office, he answered: "The emperor ought to die on his feet." To those who said anything to him about the comet he said: "This is an omen, not for me, but for the Parthian king; for he has long hair, whereas I am bald." When at last he was convinced that he was going to die, he said: "I am already becoming a god." He had lived sixty-nine years and eight months, and had reigned ten years lacking six days. From this it results that from the death of Nero to the beginning of Vespasian's rule a year and twenty-two days elapsed. I make this statement in order to prevent any misapprehension on the part of such as might estimate A.D. 79

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[2] καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ VC, καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ Zon.

5 τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας ποιουμένους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διεδέξαντο ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ ζῶντός τε καὶ ἔτι ἄρχοντος ἑτέρου ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσεν αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ ἐς τοῦτο παρέκυψεν, εἶναι· δεῖ δ' οὐ πάσας σφῶν τὰς ἡμέρας ὡς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις ἐκ διαδοχῆς γενομένας ἀριθμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐφάπαξ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ χρόνου, καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι, λογίζεσθαι.—Xiph. 210, 14–211, 5 R. St.

18, 1[a] Τούτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ὁ Τίτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.—Zon. 11, 18, p. 54, 27, 28 D.

1 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχήσας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς καὶ σώφρων καίτοι καὶ τῆς Βερενίκης[1] ἐς Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλθούσης ἐγένετο. τάχα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι[2] καὶ μετεβάλετο (οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἄλλῳ[3] τέ τινες παραδυναστεύουσι καὶ
2 αὐτοὶ αὐταρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀφροντιστοῦντες τῆς τοῦ κράτους δόξης τῇ τε ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπλήστως ἀποχρῶνται καὶ πολλὰ ἐπί τε φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς[4] πάντα ἀνακείμενα εἰδότες προνοοῦνταί
3 τι καὶ τῆς εὐδοξίας· ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ Τίτος πρός τινα, ὃν πρότερον ἐσπουδάκει, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐχ ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ἑτέρου τι δεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν δικάζειν, οὐδὲ παρ' ἄλλου τι αἰτεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν διδόναι τινί), ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, ὥς γε ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εἰπεῖν, ἐπεβίω, ὥστε μηδ'

[1] Βερενίκης Reim., βερονίκης VC.
[2] ὅτι Zon., om. VC.
[3] ἄλλῳ Sylb., ἄλλοι VC.
[4] ἐς αὐτοὺς Bs., ἐπ' αὐτοὺς VC.

the time with reference to the men who held the sovereignty. For they did not succeed one another legitimately, but each of them, even while his rival was alive and still ruling, believed himself to be emperor from the moment that he even got a glimpse of the throne. Hence one must not add together all the days of their several reigns as if those periods had followed one another in orderly succession, but must reckon once for all with the exact time that actually elapsed, as I have stated it. A.D. 79

At his death Titus succeeded to the rule.

Titus after becoming ruler committed no act of murder or of amatory passion, but showed himself upright, though plotted against, and self-controlled, though Berenice came to Rome again. This may have been because he had really undergone a change; indeed, for men to wield power as assistants to another is a very different thing from exercising independent authority themselves. In the former case they are heedless of the good name of the sovereignty and in their greed misuse the authority it gives them, thus doing many things that make their power the object of envy and slander; but actual monarchs, knowing that everything depends upon them, have an eye to good repute also. It was this realization, doubtless, that caused Titus to say to someone whose society he had previously affected: "It is not the same thing to request a favour of another as to decide a case yourself, nor the same to ask something of another as it is to give it to someone yourself." Again, his satisfactory record may also have been due to the fact that he survived his accession but a very short time (short, that is, for a ruler), for he was thus given no oppor-

4 ἁμαρτίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐγγενέσθαι. δύο τε γὰρ
ἔτη μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ μῆνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσιν
ἔζησεν ἐπ' [1] ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσι καὶ μησὶ
πέντε καὶ ἡμέραις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ αὐτὸν
ἐξ ἴσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου πολυετίᾳ
ἄγουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐφιλήθη
ποτὲ εἰ ἐλάττω χρόνον ἐζήκει,[2] οὔτ' ἂν οὗτος
5 εἰ πλείονα, ὁ μὲν ὅτι τραχύτερος κατ' ἀρχὰς
διά τε τοὺς πολέμους [3] καὶ διὰ τὰς στάσεις
γενόμενος ἠδυνήθη μετὰ ταῦτα εὐεργεσίαις ἐν
τῷ χρόνῳ λαμπρύνεσθαι, ὁ δ' ὅτι ἐπιεικῶς ἄρξας
ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης ἀπέθανε, τάχα ἂν ἐλεγχθείς,
εἴγε ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐβεβιώκει, ὅτι εὐτυχίᾳ πλείονι
ἢ ἀρετῇ ἐχρήσατο.
19 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τίτος οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν
ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ [4] ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
ἄλλος τις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐτελεύτησε.
τάς τε δίκας τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας οὔτ' αὐτός ποτε
ἐδέξατο οὔτ' ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεψεν, λέγων ὅτι "ἐγὼ
μὲν οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὑβρισθῆναι οὔτε προπηλακισθῆναι
2 δύναμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄξιόν τι ἐπηγορίας ποιῶ,
οὔτε μοι μέλει τῶν ψευδῶς λεγομένων· οἱ δὲ
μετηλλαχότες τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς,
ἄνπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἥρωές τε ὦσι καὶ δύναμίν τινα
ἔχωσι, τιμωρήσουσιν ἄν τί τις αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσῃ."
3 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρός τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ
πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεστήσατο·
καὶ γὰρ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε βεβαιῶν πάντα τὰ
ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα [5] τισίν,

[1] ἐπ' Zon., καὶ ἐπ' VC.
[2] ἐζήκει C², ἐζήτει VC¹.
[3] πολέμους Zon., πολεμίους VC.

tunity for wrongdoing. For he lived after this only two years, two months and twenty days—in addition to the thirty-nine years, five months and twenty-five days he had already lived at that time. In this respect, indeed, he is regarded as having equalled the long reign of Augustus, since it is maintained that Augustus would never have been loved had he lived a shorter time, nor Titus had he lived longer. For Augustus, though at the outset he showed himself rather harsh because of the wars and the factional strife, was later able, in the course of time, to achieve a brilliant reputation for his kindly deeds; Titus, on the other hand, ruled with mildness and died at the height of his glory, whereas, if he had lived a long time, it might have been shown that he owes his present fame more to good fortune than to merit. A.D. 79

Be that as it may, Titus during his reign put no senator to death, nor, indeed, was anyone else slain by him during his rule. Cases based on the charge of *maiestas* he would never entertain himself nor allow others to entertain; for he declared: "It is impossible for me to be insulted or abused in any way. For I do naught that deserves censure, and I care not for what is reported falsely. As for the emperors who are dead and gone, they will avenge themselves in case anyone does them a wrong, if in very truth they are demigods and possess any power." He also instituted various other measures designed to render men's lives more secure and free from trouble. Thus, he issued an edict confirming all gifts that had been bestowed upon any persons by the former emperors,

[4] *αὑτοῦ* Bk., *αὐτοῦ* VC.
[5] *δοθέντα* Zon., *βεβαιωθέντα* VC.

ὥστε μὴ καθ' ἑκάστους σφῶν αἰτοῦντας αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχειν, τούς τε μηνυτὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.—Xiph. 211, 12–212, 17 R. St.

3ᵃ Ἦν δὲ περὶ χρήματα ἀκριβὴς καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀνήλισκεν, οὐδένα μέντοι ποτὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐκόλασεν.—Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 16–18 D.

3ᵇ Ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ὁ Ψευδονέρων ἐφάνη, ὃς Ἀσιανὸς ἦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Τερέντιος Μάξιμος, προσεοικὼς δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν φωνήν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκιθαρῴδει). ἔκ τε τῆς Ἀσίας τινὰς προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφρά-
3ᶜ την προχωρῶν πολλῷ πλείους ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τέλος πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν, ὃς καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν Τίτον ποιούμενος καὶ ἐδέξατο τοῦτον καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεσκευάζετο.[1]—Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 19–27 D.

20 Κἀν τούτῳ πολέμου αὖθις ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ γενομένου τά τε τῶν ἐκεῖ πολεμίων Γναῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀγρικόλας πάντα κατέδραμε, καὶ πρῶτός γε Ῥωμαίων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἔγνω τοῦθ' ὅτι ἡ Βρεττανία περίρρυτός ἐστιν. στρατιῶται γάρ τινες στασιάσαντες, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους χιλίαρχόν
2 τε φονεύσαντες, ἐς πλοῖα κατέφυγον καὶ ἐξανα-

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (*fr.* 104 Muell.): ὅτι ἐπὶ Τίτου . . . ἀνήρ τις . . . Νέρων τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ διαπεφευγέναι πάλαι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν σταλέντας στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀφανεῖ δέ που πεποιῆσθαι τὰς διατριβὰς ἐς τόδε. πολλοὺς γοῦν ἔκ τε τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας τούτοις ἀπατήσας τοῖς λόγοις ἕπεσθαί οἱ ἀνέπεισε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην προϊὼν πολλῷ πλείους προσεποιήσατο. τέλος πρὸς Παρθυαίους, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἀμοιβῆς τινος διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπόδοσιν, κατέφυγεν. οὐ μὴν ἄξιόν τι τῆς ἐπινοίας εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ φωραθεὶς ὃς ἦν ταχέως ἀπώλετο.

thus saving them the trouble of petitioning him individually about the matter. He also banished the informers from the City. A.D. 7

In money matters he was frugal and made no unnecessary expenditures, yet he did not punish anyone for following a different course.

In his reign also the False Nero appeared, who was an Asiatic named Terentius Maximus. He resembled Nero both in appearance and in voice (for he too sang to the accompaniment of the lyre). He gained a few followers in Asia, and in his advance to the Euphrates attached a far greater number, and finally sought refuge with Artabanus, the Parthian leader, who, because of his anger against Titus, both received him and set about making preparations to restore him to Rome.[1]

Meanwhile war had again broken out in Britain, and Gnaeus Julius Agricola overran the whole of the enemy's territory there. He was the first of the Romans whom we know to discover the fact that Britain is surrounded by water. It seems that some soldiers rebelled, and after slaying the centurions and a military tribune took refuge in boats, in which they put out to sea and sailed round the

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: In Titus' reign . . a man . . . pretended to be Nero, claiming that he had escaped from the soldiers who had been sent against him and that he had been living in concealment somewhere up to this time. He persuaded many from Asia Minor to follow him, deceiving them by these statements, and as he went on to the Euphrates won over a far greater number. Finally he fled to the Parthians, claiming that they owed him some requital for the return of Armenia. Yet he accomplished nothing commensurate with his purpose, but his identity was discovered and he soon perished.

χθέντες περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αὐτῆς,
ὥς που τό τε κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε,
καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατό-
πεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προσσχόντες.[1] κἀκ τούτου
καὶ ἄλλους ὁ Ἀγρικόλας [2] πειράσοντας τὸν περί-
πλουν πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅτι νῆσός
ἐστιν.

3 Ἐν μὲν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ'
αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Τίτος αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκα-
τον ἐπεκλήθη, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρικόλας ἔν τε ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ
λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, ἅτε καὶ μείζονα
ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας, ἔζησε, καὶ τέλος
ἐσφάγη δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ, καίπερ
τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου[3] λαβών.

21 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καμπανίᾳ φοβερά τινα καὶ θαυμαστὰ
συνηνέχθη· πῦρ γὰρ μέγα κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ φθινό-
πωρον ἐξαπιναίως ἐξήφθη.[4] τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τὸ
Βέσβιον ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Νέαν
πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ πυρὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους. καὶ ἦν
μέν ποτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
μέσου τὸ πῦρ ἀνέτελλε· ταύτῃ γὰρ πεπύρωται
μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἄπυρα καὶ νῦν
2 ἔτι διαμένει. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀκαύστων
ἀεὶ ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κραυρουμένων καὶ
τεφρουμένων, αἱ μὲν[5] πέριξ κορυφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον
ὕψος ἐς δεῦρο ἔχουσι, τὸ δὲ ἔμπυρον πᾶν

[1] προσσχόντες Bk., προσχόντες VC.
[2] Ἀγρικόλας R. Steph., ἀγρικόλαος VC (so just below).
[3] παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου VC, παρ' αὐτοῦ Polak, following Casaubon (παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου).
[4] Cf. Zonaras (11, 18, p. 55, 28–30 D.): ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἔτει πῦρ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ πολὺ κατὰ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἀθρόον ἐξήνθησε.

western portion of the country just as the wind and the waves chanced to carry them; and without realizing it, since they approached from the opposite direction, they put in at the camps on the first side again. Thereupon Agricola sent others to attempt the voyage around Britain, and learned from them, too, that it was an island. A.D. 79

As a result of these events in Britain Titus received the title of *imperator* for the fifteenth time. But Agricola for the rest of his life lived not only in disgrace but in actual want, because the deeds which he had wrought were too great for a mere general. Finally, he was murdered by Domitian for no other reason than this, in spite of his having received triumphal honours from Titus.[1]

In Campania remarkable and frightful occurrences took place; for a great fire suddenly flared up at the very end of the summer.[2] It happened on this wise. Mt. Vesuvius stands over against Neapolis near the sea and it has inexhaustible fountains of fire. Once it was equally high at all points and the fire rose from the centre of it; for here only have the fires broken out, whereas all the outer parts of the mountain remain even now untouched by fire. Consequently, as the outside is never burned, while the central part is constantly growing brittle and being reduced to ashes, the peaks surrounding the centre retain their original height to this day, but the whole section

[1] "Titus" is an error, whether due to Dio or to Xiphilinus; the honours were granted by Domitian (cf. Tac., *Agric.* 40) Polak would read "from him."

[2] Cf. Zonaras: In the first year of his reign a great volume of fire burst forth all at once at the end of the summer.

[5] μὲν Zon., om. VC.

δαπανηθὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κοῖλον ἐκ τοῦ συνίζειν γέγονεν, ὥστε κυνηγετικῷ τινι θεάτρῳ τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλοις εἰκάσαι, ἐοικέναι.
3 *καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄκρα καὶ δένδρα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς ἔχει, ὁ δὲ δὴ κύκλος ἀνεῖται τῷ πυρί, καὶ ἀναδίδωσι τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας καπνὸν τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς φλόγα, ὥστε δόξαι πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ*
4 *παντοδαπὰ θυμιᾶσθαι θυμιάματα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἀεί, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ ἧττον, γίνεται· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τέφραν ἀναβάλλει, ὅταν ἀθρόον τι ὑφιζήσῃ, καὶ λίθους ἀναπέμπει, ὅταν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐκβιασθῇ. ἠχεῖ τε καὶ βοᾷ, ἅτε μὴ συμπεπιλημένας ἀλλ' ἀραιὰς καὶ λαθραίας*[1] *τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἔχων.*[2]

22 Τοιοῦτον *μὲν τὸ* Βέσβιόν *ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκείνῳ ἐν*[3] *τῷ χρόνῳ συνηνέχθη, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς τοῖς ἀεὶ ὁρῶσιν αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔδοξε, σμικρὰ ἂν πρὸς τὰ τότε συμβάντα, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐς ἓν συναχθέντα,*
2 *νομισθείη. ἔσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ἄνδρες πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβεβληκότες, οἷοι οἱ γίγαντες γράφονται, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦτο δ' ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτὸ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ περινοστοῦντες καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι δια-*
3 *φοιτῶντες ἐφαντάζοντο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὐχμοί τε δεινοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ ἐξαίφνης σφοδροὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἐκεῖνο πᾶν ἀναβράττεσθαι*

[1] *λαθραίας* VC, *ἐλευθέρας* Zon.
[2] *ἔχων* VC, *ἔχον* Zon.
[3] *ἐν* supplied by Bk.

that is on fire, having been consumed, has in the course of time settled and therefore become concave; thus the entire mountain resembles a hunting theatre[1]—if we may compare great things to small. Its outlying heights support both trees and vines in abundance, but the crater is given over to the fire and sends up smoke by day and a flame by night; in fact, it gives the impression that quantities of incense of all kinds are being burned in it. This, now, goes on all the time, sometimes to a greater, sometimes to a less extent; but often the mountain throws up ashes, whenever there is an extensive settling in the interior, and discharges stones whenever it is rent by a violent blast of air. It also rumbles and roars because its vents are not all grouped together but are narrow and concealed. A.D. 79

Such is Vesuvius, and these phenomena usually occur there every year. But all the other occurrences that had taken place there in the course of time, however notable, because unusual, they may have seemed to those who on each occasion observed them, nevertheless would be regarded as trivial in comparison with what now happened, even if all had been combined into one. This was what befell. Numbers of huge men quite surpassing any human stature—such creatures, in fact, as the Giants are pictured to have been—appeared, now on the mountain, now in the surrounding country, and again in the cities, wandering over the earth day and night and also flitting through the air. After this fearful droughts and sudden and violent earthquakes occurred, so that the whole plain round about

[1] *i.e.* an amphitheatre.

καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἀναπηδᾶν. ἠχαί τε αἱ μὲν ὑπόγειοι
βρονταῖς ἐοικυῖαι αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγειοι μυκηθμοῖς
ὅμοιαι συνέβαινον, καὶ ἥ τε θάλασσα συνέβρεμε
4 καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς συνεπήχει. κἀκ τούτου κτύπος τε
ἐξαίσιος ἐξαπιναίως ὡς καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν συμπιπτόν-
των ἐξηκούσθη, καὶ ἀνέθορον πρῶτον μὲν λίθοι
ὑπερμεγέθεις, ὥστε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐξι-
κέσθαι, ἔπειτα πῦρ πολὺ καὶ καπνὸς ἄπλετος,
ὥστε πάντα μὲν τὸν ἀέρα συσκιασθῆναι, πάντα
δὲ τὸν ἥλιον συγκρυφθῆναι καθάπερ ἐκλελοιπότα.
23 νύξ τε οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότος ἐκ φωτὸς
ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ μὲν τοὺς γίγαντας ἐπανί-
στασθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τότε εἴδωλα αὐτῶν ἐν
τῷ καπνῷ διεφαίνετο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ σαλπίγγων
τις βοὴ ἠκούετο), οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς χάος ἢ καὶ πῦρ
2 τὸν κόσμον πάντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ'
ἔφυγον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς οἱ δὲ
ἔξωθεν εἴσω, ἔκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν γῆν
καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἷα[1] τεταραγμέ-
νοι[2] καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπὸν ἀσφαλέστερον
3 τοῦ παρόντος ἡγούμενοι. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίγνετο,
καὶ τέφρα ἀμύθητος ἀνεφυσήθη[3] καὶ τήν τε γῆν
τήν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάντα κατέσχε,
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε,
καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ χώραις καὶ βοσκήμασιν
ἐλυμήνατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἰχθύας τά τε ὄρνεα πάντα
διέφθειρε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας, τό τε
Ἑρκουλάνεον καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους,[4] ἐν θεάτρῳ
4 τοῦ ὁμίλου αὐτῆς[5] καθημένου, κατέχωσε. το-

[1] οἷα Rk., οἱ ἄλλοι VC.
[2] τεταραγμένοι Bk., τε ταραττόμενοι VC.
[3] ἀνεφυσήθη Zon., ἐφυσήθη VC.

seethed and the summits leaped into the air. A.D. 79 There were frequent rumblings, some of them subterranean, that resembled thunder, and some on the surface, that sounded like bellowings; the sea also joined in the roar and the sky re-echoed it. Then suddenly a portentous crash was heard, as if the mountains were tumbling in ruins; and first huge stones were hurled aloft, rising as high as the very summits, then came a great quantity of fire and endless smoke, so that the whole atmosphere was obscured and the sun was entirely hidden, as if eclipsed. Thus day was turned into night and light into darkness. Some thought that the Giants were rising again in revolt (for at this time also many of their forms could be discerned in the smoke and, moreover, a sound as of trumpets was heard), while others believed that the whole universe was being resolved into chaos or fire. Therefore they fled, some from the houses into the streets, others from outside into the houses, now from the sea to the land and now from the land to the sea; for in their excitement they regarded any place where they were not as safer than where they were. While this was going on, an inconceivable quantity of ashes was blown out, which covered both sea and land and filled all the air. It wrought much injury of various kinds, as chance befell, to men and farms and cattle, and in particular it destroyed all fish and birds. Furthermore, it buried two entire cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, the latter place while its populace was seated in the theatre. Indeed, the amount of dust,

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[4] *τοὺς Πομπηΐους* Reim., *τοὺς πομπίους* VC Zon. (*πομπείους* Zon. E).

[5] *αὐτῆς* VC, *αὐτῶν* Zon.

σαύτη γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κόνις ἐγένετο ὥστ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς
ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἐς Ἀφρικὴν καὶ ἐς[1] Συρίαν καὶ
ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἦλθε[2] δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ
τόν τε ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε καὶ τὸν
5 ἥλιον ἐπεσκίασε. καὶ συνέβη κἀνταῦθα δέος οὐ
μικρὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας[3] οὔτ' εἰδόσι τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις τὸ γεγονὸς οὔτ' εἰκάσαι δυναμένοις,
ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
μεταστρέφεσθαι,[4] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐς τὴν γῆν
ἀφανίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιέναι.
ἡ μὲν οὖν τέφρα αὕτη οὐδὲν μέγα τότε κακὸν
αὐτοὺς εἰργάσατο (ὕστερον γὰρ νόσον σφίσι
λοιμώδη δεινὴν ἐνέβαλε).
24 Πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ
πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ
ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπε-
2 νείματο·[5] καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπεῖον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τά
τε σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ
τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ τὸ πάνθειον τό τε διριβιτώριον[6]
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν τοῦ[7] Πομ-
πηίου σκηνήν, καὶ τὰ Ὀκταουίεια[8] οἰκήματα
μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τόν τε νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν.
3 οὕτω[9] τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον
ἐγένετο· πάρεστι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὧν κατέλεξα
παντί τῳ τεκμήρασθαι καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἀπολλύ-
μενα.

1 ἐς Zon., om. VC.
2 ἦλθε Bk., ἐσῆλθε VC.
3 πολλὰς ἡμέρας H. Steph., πολλαῖς ἡμέραις VC.
4 μεταστρέφεσθαι Bk., καταστρέφεσθαι VC.
5 ἐπενείματο V, ἀπενείματο C.

taken all together, was so great that some of it A.D. 79 reached Africa and Syria and Egypt, and it also reached Rome, filling the air overhead and darkening the sun. There, too, no little fear was occasioned, that lasted for several days, since the people did not know and could not imagine what had happened, but, like those close at hand, believed that the whole world was being turned upside down, that the sun was disappearing into the earth and that the earth was being lifted to the sky. These ashes, now, did the Romans no great harm at the time, though later they brought a terrible pestilence upon them.

However, a second[1] conflagration, above ground, A.D. 80 in the following year spread over very large sections of Rome while Titus was absent in Campania attending to the catastrophe that had befallen that region. It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage building of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books,[2] and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with its surrounding temples. Hence the disaster seemed to be not of human but of divine origin; for anyone can estimate, from the list of buildings that I have given, how many others must have been destroyed.

[1] This disaster naturally reminds Dio of the one under Nero.
[2] Cf. liii. 1.

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[6] διριβιτώριον Bk., διριβετώριον VC.
[7] τοῦ supplied by R. Steph.
[8] Ὀκταουίεια Dind., ὀκταουειία V, ὀκταούεια C.
[9] οὕτω Bk., οὕτω τε VC.

Ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Τίτος τοῖς μὲν Καμπανοῖς δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οἰκιστὰς ἔπεμψε, καὶ χρήματα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ[1] τῶν ἄνευ κληρονόμων
4 τεθνηκότων ἐδωρήσατο· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε παρ᾽ ἰδιώτου οὔτε παρὰ πόλεως οὔτε παρὰ βασιλέως, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλὰ διδόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπισχνουμένων, ἔλαβεν, ἀνέστησε[2] μέντοι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντα.

25 Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ ἱερώσας πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε. γέρανοί τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐλέφαντες τέσσαρες, ἄλλα τε ἐς ἐνακισχίλια καὶ βοτὰ καὶ θηρία ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ γυναῖκες, οὐ μέντοι ἐπιφανεῖς, συγκατειργάσαντο.
2 ἄνδρες τε πολλοὶ μὲν ἐμονομάχησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοι ἔν τε πεζομαχίαις καὶ ἐν ναυμαχίαις ἠγωνίσαντο. τὸ γὰρ θέατρον αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο ὕδατος ἐξαίφνης πληρώσας ἐσήγαγε μὲν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ταύρους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χειροήθη, δεδιδαγμένα πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πράττειν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ,
3 ἐσήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλοίων. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκεῖ, ὡς οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄντες, ἐναυμάχησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ τοῦ Γαΐου τοῦ τε Λουκίου, ὅ ποτε ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ὠρύξατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μονομαχία τε καὶ θηρίων σφαγή, κατοικοδομηθείσης σανίσι τῆς

[1] τὰ R. Steph. (so Zon.), τὰ χρήματα VC.
[2] ἀνέστησε R. Steph. (so Zon.), ἀνίστησι VC.

Titus accordingly sent two ex-consuls to the Campanians to supervise the restoration of the region, and bestowed upon the inhabitants not only general gifts of money, but also the property of such as had lost their lives and left no heirs. As for himself, he accepted nothing from any private citizen or city or king, although many kept offering and promising him large sums; but he restored all the damaged regions from funds already on hand. A.D. 80

Most that he did was not characterized by anything noteworthy, but in dedicating the hunting-theatre[1] and the baths that bear his name he produced many remarkable spectacles. There was a battle between cranes and also between four elephants; animals both tame and wild were slain to the number of nine thousand; and women (not those of any prominence, however) took part in despatching them. As for the men, several fought in single combat and several groups contended together both in infantry and naval battles. For Titus suddenly filled this same theatre with water and brought in horses and bulls and some other domesticated animals that had been taught to behave in the liquid element just as on land. He also brought in people on ships, who engaged in a sea-fight there, impersonating the Corcyreans and Corinthians; and others gave a similar exhibition outside the city in the grove of Gaius and Lucius, a place which Augustus had once excavated for this very purpose. There, too, on the first day there was a gladiatorial exhibition and wild-beast hunt, the lake in front of the images having first been covered over with a

[1] The Amphitheatrum Flavium, later known as the Colosseum.

κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν εἰκόνων λίμνης καὶ ἰκρία
4 πέριξ λαβούσης, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ἱπποδρομία καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ναυμαχία τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πεζομαχία ἐγένετο· νικήσαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Συρακουσίους (τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασι χρησάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν) ἐπεξῆλθον ἐς τὸ νησίδιον, καὶ προσβαλόντες τείχει τινὶ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον πεποιημένῳ εἷλον αὐτό. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς ὄψιν ἥκοντα καὶ ἐφ' ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, παρέσχε δέ τινα καὶ ἐς ὠφέλειαν φέροντα αὐτοῖς·
5 σφαιρία γὰρ ξύλινα μικρὰ ἄνωθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐρρίπτει, σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐδωδίμου τινὸς τὸ δὲ ἐσθῆτος τὸ δὲ ἀργυροῦ σκεύους, ἄλλο χρυσοῦ ἵππων ὑποζυγίων βοσκημάτων ἀνδραπόδων, ἃ ἁρπάσαντάς τινας ἔδει πρὸς τοὺς δοτῆρας αὐτῶν ἀπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον.

26 Διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ καταδακρύσας ὥστε πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπί τε τοῦ Φλαουίου[1] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τῶν ὑπάτων, καθιερώσας ὅσα εἴρηται, μετήλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ
2 αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὲν ἡ φήμη λέγει, πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναλωθείς,[2] ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβεβούλευτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς δέ τινες γράφουσι, νοσήσας· ἔμπνουν γάρ τοι αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνάμενον ἐς λάρνακα χιόνος πολλῆς γέμουσαν ὁ

[1] Φλαουίου Bk., φλαβίου VC.
[2] ἀναλωθείς Bk., ἄλλως θ' VC.

platform of planks and wooden stands erected around it. On the second day there was a horse-race, and on the third day a naval battle between three thousand men, followed by an infantry battle. The "Athenians" conquered the "Syracusans" (these were the names the combatants used), made a landing on the islet[1] and assaulted and captured a wall that had been constructed around the monument. These were the spectacles that were offered, and they continued for a hundred days; but Titus also furnished some things that were of practical use to the people. He would throw down into the theatre from aloft little wooden balls variously inscribed, one designating some article of food, another clothing, another a silver vessel or perhaps a gold one, or again horses, pack-animals, cattle or slaves. Those who seized them were to carry them to the dispensers of the bounty, from whom they would receive the article named.[2] A.D. 80

After he had finished these exhibitions, and had wept so bitterly on the last day that all the people saw him, he performed no other deed of importance; but the next year, in the consulship of Flavius and Pollio, after the dedication of the buildings mentioned, he passed away at the same watering-place that had been the scene of his father's death. The common report is that he was put out of the way by his brother, for Domitian had previously plotted against him; but some writers state that he died a natural death. The tradition is that, while he was still breathing and possibly had a chance of recovery, Domitian, in order to hasten his end, placed him in a chest packed with a A.D. 81

[1] Ortygia. [2] Cf. lxi (lxii), 18.

Δομιτιανὸς ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς δεομένης τῆς νόσου τάχα τινὸς περιψύξεως,[1] ἵνα θᾶσσον ἀποθάνῃ.
3 ἔτι γοῦν ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίππευσε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, τήν τε ἐπίκλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔλαβε, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅσονπερ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδεδώκει. ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος ἀποψύχων εἶπε μὲν ὅτι "ἓν μόνον ἐπλημμέλησα," τί δὲ δὴ τοῦτο εἴη οὐ διεσάφησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ οἱ δὲ τὸ κατείκα-
4 σαν· κρατεῖ δ' οὖν, ὡς[2] μέν τινες λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα ἔσχεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, οἷς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, ὅτι τὸν Δομιτιανὸν σαφῶς ἐπιβουλεύσαντά οἱ λαβὼν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθεῖν τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἵλετο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ ἐξέδωκεν οἷον ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει. ἦρξε δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσιν, ὡς προείρηται.—Xiph. 212, 17—216, 23 R. St.

[1] ὡς—περιψύξεως Zon., ὡς δῆθεν θεραπεύσων hist. Aug. Byz., om. VC.
[2] ὡς Bk., οἱ VC.

quantity of snow, pretending that the disease re- A.D. 81
quired, perhaps, that a chill be administered. At any rate, he rode off to Rome while Titus was still alive, entered the camp, and received the title and authority of emperor, after giving the soldiers all that his brother had given them. Titus, as he expired, said: "I have made but one mistake." What this was he did not make clear, and no one else recognized it with certainty. Some have conjectured one thing and some another. The prevailing view is that of those who say that he referred to his taking his brother's wife, Domitia. Others—and these I am inclined to follow—say that what he meant as his mistake was that he had not killed Domitian when he found him openly plotting against him, but had chosen rather to suffer that fate himself at his rival's hands, and had surrendered the empire of the Romans to a man like Domitian, whose character will be made clear in the continuation of my narrative. Titus had ruled two years, two months and twenty days, as has been already stated.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXVII

1 Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ θρασὺς καὶ ὀργίλος, ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπίβουλος καὶ κρυψίνους, ὥστε ἀφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν μὲν τὸ προπετὲς τῶν δὲ τὸ δόλιον ἔχων, πολλὰ μὲν ὥσπερ[1] σκηπτὸς ὀξέως ἐμπίπτων τισὶν ἐλυμαίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρα-
2 σκευῆς ἐκακούργει. θεῶν[2] μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἤγαλλε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια μεγάλως ἑώρταζε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνας καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ λογογράφων μονομάχων τε κατ' ἔτος ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ἐποίει· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανόν, ἀφ' οὗπερ οὕτως ὠνομάσθη, ὃν ὥσπερ τινὰ
3 ἀκρόπολιν ἐξείλετο· ἀνθρώπων[3] δὲ ἐφίλησε μὲν ἀληθῶς οὐδένα πλὴν γυναικῶν τινων, ἐπλάττετο δὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ ὃν ἀεὶ μάλιστα ἀποσφάξαι ἤθελεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἄπιστος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς χαριζομένους τι ἔς τε τὰ δεινότατα ὑπηρετοῦντάς οἱ[4] ἐγένετο ὥσθ', ὁπότε τινὲς ἢ χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ πορίσειαν ἢ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς συκοφαντήσειαν, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἔφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δού-
4 λους τοὺς κατὰ δεσποτῶν τι μηνύσαντας. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ ἀργύριον καὶ τιμὰς καὶ

[1] ὥσπερ cod. Peir., ὡς VC.
[2] θεῶν C, θεὸν V.
[3] ἀνθρώπων cod. Peir., ἄνθρωπον VC Zon.
[4] οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXVII

Domitian was not only bold and quick to anger A.D. 81
but also treacherous and secretive; and so, deriving from these two characteristics impulsiveness on the one hand and craftiness on the other, he would often attack people with the sudden violence of a thunderbolt and again would often injure them as the result of careful deliberation. The god that he revered most was Minerva, in consequence of which he was wont to celebrate the Panathenaea on a magnificent scale; on these occasions he held contests of poets and orators and gladiators almost every year at his Alban Villa. This estate, situated at the foot of the Alban Mount, from which it received its name, he had set apart as a kind of acropolis. There was no human being for whom he felt any genuine affection, except a few women; but he always pretended to be fond of the person whom at the moment he most desired to slay. So faithless was he even towards those who showed him some favour or helped him in his most revolting crimes, that, whenever persons provided him with large sums of money or lodged false information against large numbers of people, he was sure to destroy them, being especially careful to do so in the case of slaves who had given information against their masters. Accordingly, such persons, though they received money and honours and

ἀρχὰς ὁμοῦ οἱ λαμβάνοντες, οὔτ' ἐντιμότερον τῶν ἑτέρων οὔτ' ἀσφαλέστερον διῆγον, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ παρακαλούμενοι ἔπραττον ἀπώλλυντο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων γεγονέναι δοκῇ. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ καὶ προέγραψέ ποτε ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὅταν μὴ κολάζῃ τοὺς συκοφάντας, αὐτός σφας ποιεῖ τοιούτους.—Xiph. 217, 8–27 R. St., Exc. Val. 274 (p. 705).

2 *Τοιοῦτος δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντας παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος πολὺ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ φίλων ἀτίμῳ τε καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ μεταχειρίσει. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸς γράμμα ἐξέθηκεν τηρῶν πάντα τὰ πρός τε ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκρα-*
2 *τόρων*[1] *δοθέντα τισίν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καλλώπισμα ἄλλως ἦν. ἐμίσει γὰρ αὐτούς, ὅτι τε μὴ πάνθ' ὅσα ᾔτει, πολλά τε καὶ οὐ προσήκοντα ὄντα, παρέσχον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τιμῇ τινι ἐγεγένηντο· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀγαπηθέν τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνηθὲν ἐν ἐχθροῦ*
3 *μοίρᾳ ἐτίθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐαρίνου τινὸς εὐνούχου ἐρῶν, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἰσχυρῶς περὶ τοὺς ἐκτομίας ἐσπουδάκει, ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ ἐκείνου ὕβρει μηδένα ἔτι ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐκτέμνεσθαι. τὸ δ' ὅλον ἔλεγε τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοὺς μὴ πολλοὺς κολάζοντας οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλ' εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι.*—Xiph. 217, 27–218, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 275 (p. 705 sq.).

4 *Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν οὔτε*[2] *τῶν τὸν*

[1] *αὐτοκρατόρων* Val., *αὐτοκράτορα* cod. Peir.
[2] *οὔτε* Bk., *οὐδὲ* cod. Peir.

offices[1] in which they were his colleagues, lived A.D. 81
in no greater honour and security than other men. On the contrary, the very offences to which they had been urged by Domitian were commonly made the pretext for their destruction, his object being that they alone should appear to have been the authors of the wrongdoing. It was with this same purpose that he once issued a proclamation to the effect that, when an emperor fails to punish informers, he himself makes them informers.

Though such was his behaviour towards all throughout the course of his reign, yet he quite outdid himself in visiting disgrace and ruin upon the friends of his father and of his brother. It is true, he issued a proclamation confirming all the gifts made to any persons by them and by other emperors; but this was mere vain show. He hated them because they had not supplied all his numerous and unreasonable demands, as well as because they had been held in some honour; for he regarded as his enemy anyone who had enjoyed his father's or his brother's affection beyond the ordinary or had been particularly influential. Accordingly, though he himself entertained a passion for a eunuch named Earinus, nevertheless, since Titus also had shown a great fondness for eunuchs, in order to insult his memory, he forbade that any person in the Roman Empire should thereafter be castrated. In general, he was accustomed to say that those emperors who did not visit punishment upon many men were not good emperors, but only fortunate.

This same emperor paid no heed to the praises

[1] A reference doubtless to the consulship.

Τίτον ἐπαινούντων ὅτι μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔθ' ὅτι ἡ γερουσία πολλάκις ἠξίου ψηφισθῆναι μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τῶν ὁμοτίμων τινὰ ἀπολέσαι· πάνυ γὰρ οὖν σφισι πολὺ διέφερεν εἴτε ἰδίᾳ τινὰ αὐτῶν εἴτε καὶ δι' ἐκείνων καταχρήσαιτο, ὥσπερ τι ἀντειπεῖν ἢ καὶ
5 μὴ καταψηφίσασθαί τινος δυναμένοις. ἐπῄνουν δὲ τὸν Τίτον τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀκούοντος τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ[1] (ἴσον γὰρ ἂν ἡμάρτανον ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον παρόντα καὶ ἀκούοντα ἐλοιδόρουν), ἀλλ' . . .[2] ὅτι ἠπίστατο αὐτοὺς λάθρᾳ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας· ἐπεί τοι καὶ ἕτερον σκηνοποιίᾳ
6 τινὶ ἐοικὸς ἐγίγνετο. αὐτός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πενθεῖν προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ τούς τε ἐπαίνους τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεξε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐσέγραψε, πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ὧν ἐβούλετο σκηπτόμενος (ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ
7 κατέλυσε)· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὔθ' ὅπως συνάχθοιντο οὔθ' ὅπως συνήδοιντο ἀσφαλῶς εἶχον, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ λυπεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τὴν προσποίησιν ἐλέγχειν ἔμελλον.—Exc. Val. 276 (p. 706), Xiph. 218, 4–10 R. St.

3 Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν Δομιτίαν ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν σφάξαι ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ, παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὔρσου ἀπεπέμψατο, τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὁδῷ δι' αὐτὴν φονεύσας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνθεσι καὶ μύροις τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον

[1] Δομιτιανοῦ Val., δομιτίου cod. Peir.
[2] Lacuna recognized by Rk.

which men bestowed upon Titus for not having put a single senator to death, nor did he care that the senate frequently saw fit to pass decrees that it should be unlawful for the emperor to put to death any of his peers. A vast difference, indeed, did it make to them whether it was on his own responsibility or with the consent of the senate that he put out of the way one or another of their number—as if, forsooth, they could offer any opposition or refuse to condemn anybody! Some, however, would praise Titus, though not in Domitian's hearing (for to do that would have been as grave an offence as to revile the emperor in his presence and within his hearing), but [they would do so among themselves, so that he hated them] because he well knew that they were doing this secretly. And indeed there was something else that resembled play-acting; for Domitian pretended that he himself loved his brother and mourned him, and he delivered the eulogy over him with tears in his eyes and urged that he be enrolled among the demigods—pretending just the opposite of what he really desired. Indeed, he abolished the horse-race that had been held on the birthday of Titus. In general, men were not safe whether they shared in his grief or in his joy; for in the one case they were bound to offend his real feelings and in the other to show up his insincerity. A.D. 81

He planned to put his wife, Domitia, to death on the ground of adultery, but having been dissuaded by Ursus, he divorced her, after murdering Paris, the actor, in the middle of the street because of her. And when many persons paid honour to that spot with flowers and ointments, he ordered A.D. 83(?)

2 ἐτίμων, ἐκέλευσε τούτους σφάττεσθαι. κἀκ τούτου τῇ ἀδελφιδῇ τῇ ἰδίᾳ, ἤγουν τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ, ἀπαρακαλυπτότερον ὡς γαμετῇ συνῴκει. εἶτα δεηθέντος τοῦ δήμου κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ, ἐχρῆτο δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ.[1]—Xiph. 218, 10–16 R. St., Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 10–15 D.

3[1] Πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις φόνοις τε καὶ ὑπερορίαις ἐκποδὼν ποιούμενος (οὐδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων κ.τ.λ. § 3[2]).—Xiph. 218, 16–17 R. St.

4[2] Ὅτι καὶ συχνοὺς μεθιστάς που κατεχρήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους γε αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν[2] παρεσκεύαζε τρόπον τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἵνα ἐθελοντηδὸν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης δοκῶσι τοῦτο πάσχειν. —Exc. Val. 277 (p. 706).

3[2] Οὐδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ἐφείσατο ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἠνδρωμένας ἐτιμωρήσατο, ὅτε καὶ λέγεται, σκληρᾶς καὶ τραχείας τῆς περὶ αὐτὰς ἐξετάσεως γενομένης καὶ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ κολαζομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν εἷς τῶν ποντιφίκων Ἕλουιος Ἀγρίππας ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἀποψῦξαι.—Xiph. 218, 17–22 R. St.

4[1] Ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠγάλλετο, ὅτι τὰς ἀειπαρθένους ὡς ἠνδρωμένας οὐ κατώρυξεν, ὡς ἦν ἔθος, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἀποθνήσκειν ἐκέλευσε.—Exc. Val. 278 (p. 706).

5 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξορμήσας, καὶ λεηλατήσας τινὰ τῶν πέραν Ῥήνου τῶν ἐνσπόν-

[1] εἶτα δεηθέντος—Ἰουλίᾳ Zon., om. VC.
[2] ἑαυτῶν Val., ἑαυτοῦ cod. Peir.

that they, too, should be slain. After this he lived A.D. 83(?) with his own niece (Julia, that is to say) as husband with wife, making little effort at concealment. Then upon the demand of the people[1] he became reconciled with Domitia, but continued his relations with Julia none the less.

He was putting many of the foremost men out of the way on many different pretexts, some by means of murder and others by banishment.

He also removed many from Rome to other places and destroyed them; and in the case of not a few he so contrived that they died by their own hands in one way or another, so that they might be thought to have met death by their own desire and not through compulsion.

He did not spare even the Vestal Virgins, but A.D. 83 punished them on the charge of having had intercourse with men. It is even said that, as a result of the harsh and cruel character of their examination and the great number of persons who were being accused and punished, one of the pontifices, Helvius Agrippa, could not endure it, but, horror-stricken, expired then and there in the senate-chamber.

Domitian prided himself also on the fact that he did not bury alive, as was the custom, the Vestals whom he found to have had intercourse with men, but ordered them to be put to death in some other way.

After this he set out for Gaul and plundered some of the tribes beyond the Rhine that enjoyed

[1] Dio doubtless had a fuller form of statement indicating that this was not a sincere demand on the part of the people. Cf. Suet., *Dom.* 3: *quasi efflagitante populo.*

δων, ὠγκοῦτο ὥς τι μέγα κατωρθωκώς, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπηύξησε τὴν μισθοφοράν, τάχα διὰ τὴν νίκην· πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστου λαμβάνοντος ἑκατὸν ἐκέλευσα δίδοσθαι. μεταμεληθεὶς δὲ τὴν μὲν ποσότητα οὐκ ἐμείωσε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατευομένων συνέστειλε. καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν μεγάλα τὸ δημόσιον ἔβλαψε, μήθ' ἱκανοὺς τοὺς ἀμύνοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τούτους μεγαλομίσθους ποιήσας.—Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 16–25 D.

4 *Ἐκστρατεύσας δὲ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν*[1] *καὶ μηδ' ἑορακώς που πόλεμον ἐπανῆκε. τί γὰρ δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἃ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῷ αὐτοκράτορσιν ἀεὶ ἐδόθη, ἵνα μὴ προσυποπτεύοντες ἔκ τε τῆς ὀλιγότητος καὶ ἐκ τῆς σμικρότητος τῶν τιμῶν*
2 *ἐλέγχεσθαι χαλεπαίνωσι; καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο δεινότατον ἔσχεν, ὅτι καὶ κολακεύεσθαι ἤθελε, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἤχθετο καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι καὶ τοῖς μή, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι θωπεύειν τοῖς δὲ ὅτι καταφρονεῖν ἐδόκουν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν βουλῇ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο προσεποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὖρσον ὀλίγου*[2] *ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠρέσκετο, καὶ τῆς Ἰουλίας αἰτησαμένης ὕπατον ἀπέδειξεν.*—Xiph. 218, 22–29 R. St., Exc. Val. 279 (p. 706).

[1] Dio would have used the word Κελτικήν (cf. note on liii. 12).
[2] ὀλίγου Reim., ὀλίγον cod. Peir.

treaty rights—a performance which filled him with A.D. 83 conceit as if he had achieved some great success; and he increased the soldiers' pay, perhaps on account of this victory, commanding that four hundred sesterces should be given to each man in place of the three hundred that he had been receiving. Later he thought better of it, but, instead of diminishing the amount of their pay, he reduced the number of soldiers. Both changes entailed great injury to the State; for he made its defenders too few in number and yet at the same time very expensive to maintain.

Next he made a campaign into Germany and returned without having so much as seen hostilities anywhere. But why should I go on and mention the honours bestowed upon him on this occasion for his exploit or from time to time upon the other emperors who were no better than he? For they were bestowed merely to keep such rulers from suspecting, as they would if the honours had been few and insignificant, that the people saw through them, and from becoming angry in consequence. Yet Domitian had this worst quality of all, that he desired to be flattered, and was equally displeased with both sorts of men, those who paid court to him and those who did not—with the former because they seemed to be flattering him and with the latter because they seemed to despise him. Nevertheless, he affected to take pleasure in the honours voted by the senate. But he came near putting Ursus to death because he failed to show pleasure at his sovereign's exploits; and then, at the request of Julia, he appointed him consul.

3 *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνοίας
ὕπατος μὲν ἔτη δέκα ἐφεξῆς, τιμητὴς δὲ διὰ βίου
πρῶτος δὴ καὶ μόνος καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ αὐτοκρα-
τόρων ἐχειροτονήθη, ῥαβδούχοις τε τέσσαρσι καὶ
εἴκοσι καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ, ὅταν ἐς τὸ βου-
4 λευτήριον ἐσίῃ, χρῆσθαι ἔλαβε. τόν τε Ὀκτώ-
βριον Δομιτιανὸν ἀντωνόμασεν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐγεγέννητο. τοῖς δὲ ἁρματηλάταις δύο γένη
ἕτερα, τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν τὸ δὲ πορφυροῦν*[1] *ὀνομά-
σας, προσκατέστησε. τοῖς τε θεωμένοις συχνὰ
διὰ τῶν σφαιρίων ἐδίδου, καί ποτε καὶ ἐδείπνισεν
αὐτοὺς κατὰ χώραν καθημένους, οἶνόν τέ σφισι
5 πολλαχῇ ῥέοντα νυκτὸς παρέσχεν. ἃ δὴ τοῖς
μὲν πολλοῖς ἐν ἡδονῇ, ὡς εἰκός, ἦν, τοῖς δὲ δυνα-
τοῖς ὀλέθρου αἴτια καθίστατο· οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὁπό-
θεν ἀναλώσει, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευε, τοὺς μὲν ἐσάγων ἐς
τὸ βουλευτήριον, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπόντων κατηγορῶν.
ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνίους λαθραίοις φαρ-
μάκοις ἀπήλλασσε.*—Xiph. 218,29–219,10 R. St.

6 Πολλοὶ δὲ *τῶν ὑποτελῶν* Ῥωμαίοις *ἀφίσταντο
χρήματα βιαίως πρασσόμενοι, ὡς καὶ οἱ* Νασα-
*μῶνες· τούς τε γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων πράκτορας
ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὸν* Νουμιδίας *ἄρχοντα* Φλάκκον
*ἐπελθόντα σφίσιν ἥττησαν οὕτως ὡς πορθῆσαι
καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. εὑρόντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τἆλλά
τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ οἶνον ἐμπλησθέντες ὕπνωσαν,
καὶ γνοὺς ὁ Φλάκκος τοῦτο ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς καὶ*

[1] πορφυροῦν Phil. Rub. (*Elect.* 2, 27), ἀργυροῦν VC.

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[1] Cf. lxii (lxi), 18 ; lxvi. 25.
[2] Probably Cn. Suellius Flaccus.

However, being still more puffed up by his folly, A.D. 84
he was elected consul for ten years in succession and censor for life, being the first and only man, whether private citizen or emperor, to be given this latter honour; he also received the privilege of employing twenty-four lictors and of wearing the triumphal garb whenever he entered the senate-house. He changed the name of October to Domitianus because he had been born in that month. Among the charioteers he instituted two more factions, calling one the Golden and the other the Purple. To the spectators he used to make many presents by means of the little balls[1]; and once he gave them a banquet while they remained in their seats and at night provided for them wine that flowed freely in many different places. All this naturally gave pleasure to the populace, but it was a cause of ruin to the powerful. For, as he had no funds from which to make his expenditures, he murdered many men, haling some of them before the senate, but bringing charges against others when they were not even present in Rome. He even went so far as to put some out of the way treacherously by means of drugs secretly administered.

Many of the peoples tributary to the Romans A.D 85–86
revolted when contributions of money were forcibly extorted from them; among these were the Nasamones. They massacred all the tax-collectors and so completely defeated Flaccus,[2] the governor of Numidia, who proceeded against them, that they even plundered his camp. But having discovered the wine and other provisions there, they gorged themselves and fell asleep, and Flaccus, learning of this, attacked

πάντας ἀπώλεσε καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους διέφθειρεν ἅπαντας. ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπαρθεὶς εἶπε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὅτι "Νασαμῶνας ἐκώλυσα εἶναι."

7 *Ἤδη γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἠξίου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ δεσπότης καλούμενος καὶ θεὸς ὑπερηγάλλετο. ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐλέγετο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφετο.*—Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 31–59, 10 D.

6 *Μέγιστος δὲ δὴ πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρὸς τοὺς Δακοὺς ἐγένετο, ὧν τότε Δεκέβαλος ἐβασίλευε,*[1] *δεινὸς μὲν συνεῖναι τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρᾶξαι, ἐπελθεῖν εὔστοχος ἀναχωρῆσαι καίριος, ἐνέδρας τεχνίτης μάχης ἐργάτης, καὶ καλῶς μὲν νίκῃ χρήσασθαι καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἧτταν διαθέσθαι*[2] *εἰδώς· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἀξιόμαχος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο.*
2 *Δακοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύω, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί σφας ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἑλλήνων τινὲς Γέτας αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν, εἴτ' ὀρθῶς εἴτε καὶ μὴ λέγοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αἵμου παρὰ τὸν*
3 *Ἴστρον οἰκοῦντας· ὁ Δομιτιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐξεστρατεύσατο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προσήψατο, ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει τινὶ Μυσίας ὑπομείνας ὕβριζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τό τε σῶμα ἄπονος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄτολμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ*

[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: *ὅτι Δούρας, οὗ ἡγεμονία ἐγίγνετο, ἑκὼν αὐτῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ τῷ Δακῶν βασιλεῖ ὅτι δεινὸς κτέ.*

[2] *διαθέσθαι* cod. Peir. Suid., *διαθεῖναι* VC.

them and annihilated them, even destroying all the non-combatants. Domitian was elated at this success and said to the senate: "I have forbidden the Nasamones to exist." A.D. 85–86

For he even insisted upon being regarded as a god and took vast pride in being called "master" and "god." These titles were used not merely in speech but also in written documents.

At this time the Romans became involved in a very serious war with the Dacians, whose king was then Decebalus.[1] This man was shrewd in his understanding of warfare and shrewd also in the waging of war; he judged well when to attack and chose the right moment to retreat; he was an expert in ambuscades and a master in pitched battles; and he knew not only how to follow up a victory well, but also how to manage well a defeat. Hence he showed himself a worthy antagonist of the Romans for a long time. I call the people Dacians, the names used by the natives themselves as well as by the Romans, though I am not ignorant that some Greek writers refer to them as Getae, whether that is the right term or not; for the Getae of whom I myself know are those that live beyond the Haemus range, along the Ister. Domitian, then, made an expedition against this people, but did not take an active part in the conflict. Instead, he remained in one of the cities of Moesia, indulging in riotous living, as was his wont. For he was not only indolent of body and

[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: Duras, to whom the sovereignty belonged, had voluntarily abdicated it in favour of Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, because the latter was shrewd in his understanding of warfare, etc.

ἀσωτότατος καὶ ἀσελγέστατος καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ πρὸς μειράκια ἦν. ἄλλους δὲ πέμπων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγοὺς τὰ πλείω κακῶς ἀπήλλασσεν.—Xiph. 219, 10–24 R. St., Exc. Val. 284 = Suid. *s.vv.* *δεινός, καίριος*, Exc. Val. 285, 280.

5 *Ὅτι Δεκέβαλος ὁ Δακῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο πρὸς Δομιτιανὸν εἰρήνην ὑπισχνούμενος· ἐφ' οὗ ἔπεμψε Δομιτιανὸς Φοῦσκον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβείαν αὖθις ἐν χλευασμῷ λέγων ὡς, εἰ ἕλοιτο ἕκαστος Ῥωμαίων δύο ὀβολοὺς Δεκεβάλῳ ἑκάστου ἔτους τελεῖν, εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν τίθεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἕλοιτο, πολεμήσειν καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς προστρίψεσθαι*[1] *κακά.*—Petr. Patr. *exc. de leg.* 3 (Hoeschel p. 15 = 4 Muell. *Fragm. hist. Gr.* 4, p. 185).

6 *Δίων . . . . . . ξζ' βιβλίῳ . . . . · "ἐπειδὴ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Φούσκου*[2] *στρατευσάμενοι ἡγήσασθαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἠξίωσαν."*—Bekk. *Anecd.* 147, 29–31.

7, 1 *Ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς*[3] *Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκομάνους*[4] *ἀμύνασθαι, ὅτι μὴ ἐβοήθησάν οἱ κατὰ Δακῶν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἦλθεν ἐς Παννονίαν σφίσι πολεμήσων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς δευτέρους, οὓς ἔπεμψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἀπέκτεινεν.*—Exc. U[G] 42 (p. 399).

6, 4 *Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς πταίσας τοῖς στρατιάρχαις ἐπεκάλει. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμείνω πάντα, καίτοι μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράττων, προσεποιεῖτο, τῶν δὲ δὴ χειρόνων ἑτέρους, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τι κελεύσεως συνε-*

[1] *προστρίψεσθαι* Bk., *προστρίψασθαι* MSS.

timorous of spirit, but also most profligate and lewd towards women and boys alike. He therefore sent others to conduct the war and for the most part got the worst of it. A.D. 85–86

Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, was making overtures to Domitian, promising him peace; but Domitian sent Fuscus[1] against him with a large force. On learning of this Decebalus sent to him an embassy anew with the insulting proposal to make peace with the emperor, on condition that every Roman should elect to pay two obols to Decebalus each year; otherwise, he declared, he would make war and inflict great ills upon the Romans. A.D. 87(?)

Dio . . . Book LXVII. . . . When the soldiers who had made the campaign with Fuscus asked [Domitian] to lead them.

Domitian, wishing to requite the Quadi and the Marcomani because they had not assisted him against the Dacians, entered Pannonia with the intention of making war upon them; and he put to death the second group of envoys which had been sent by the enemy to propose terms of peace. A.D. 89(?)

The same emperor, having been defeated, laid the blame on his commanders. For, though he claimed for himself all the successes, none of which was due to him, yet he blamed others for the reverses, notwithstanding that they had been incurred in consequence of the orders issued by him.

[1] Cornelius Fuscus, praetorian prefect.

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[2] Φούσκου Bs., φύσκου cod. Coisl.
[3] Δομιτιανὸς Urs., δομίτιος MSS.
[4] Μαρκομάνους Bk., μαρκομάννους MSS.

βεβήκει, ᾐτιᾶτο. καὶ ἐμίσει μὲν τοὺς κατορθώσαντάς τι, ἐμέμφετο δὲ τοὺς πταίσαντας.—Exc. Val. 281 (p. 399).

7, 2 *Ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς*[1] *ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρκομάνων*[2] *καὶ φυγὼν ἔπεμψε διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὸν Δεκέβαλον τὸν Δακῶν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐς σπονδὰς αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ἃς πολλάκις αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ πρότερον οὐκ ἐδεδώκει. καὶ ὃς ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν σύμβασιν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐτεταλαιπώρητο*[3]*), οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψε τὸν Διῆγιν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τά τε ὅπλα καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τινάς, ὡς καὶ μόνους*
3 *ἐκείνους ἔχων, δώσοντα. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δομιτιανὸς*[4] *τῷ Διήγιδι διάδημα ἐπέθηκε καθάπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς κεκρατηκὼς καὶ βασιλέα τινὰ τοῖς Δακοῖς δοῦναι δυνάμενος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς νενικηκὼς ἐπέστειλε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου ἐπιστολήν τε, ὥς γε ἔφασκεν, ἣν ἐλέγετο πεπλα-*
4 *κέναι. καὶ πολλοῖς τὴν ἑορτὴν πομπείοις ἐκόσμησεν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν εἷλε (πᾶν*[5] *γὰρ τοὐναντίον καὶ προσανάλωσε ταῖς σπονδαῖς, συχνὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτίκα χρήματα καὶ δημιουργοὺς παντοίας τέχνης καὶ εἰρηνικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ δούς, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ δώσειν ὑποσχόμενος) ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπίπλων· τούτοις γὰρ ὡς καὶ*

[1] *Δομιτιανὸς* Urs., *δομέτιος* MSS.
[2] *Μαρκομάνων* Bk., *μαρκομάννων* VB, *μαρκουμάννων* M.
[3] *ἐτεταλαιπώρητο* Bk., *ἐταλαιπώρητο* MSS.
[4] *Δομιτιανὸς* Urs., *δομέτιος* V, *δόμιτις* BM.
[5] *πᾶν* Reim., *πάντα* MSS.

Indeed, he hated those who succeeded and blamed those who met with reverses. A.D. 89(?)

Domitian, having been defeated by the Marcomani, took to flight, and hastily sending messages to Decebalus, king of the Dacians, induced him to make a truce, though he himself had hitherto refused to grant one in response to the frequent requests of Decebalus. And so Decebalus accepted his overtures, for he had suffered grievous hardships; yet he did not wish to hold a conference with Domitian personally, but instead sent Diegis with the men,[1] to give him the arms and a few captives, who, he pretended, were the only ones that he had. When this had been done, Domitian placed a diadem on the head of Diegis, just as if he had truly conquered and could give the Dacians anyone he pleased to be their king. To the soldiers he granted honours and money. And, just as if he had won a victory, he sent to Rome, among other things, envoys from Decebalus and also a letter from the king, as he claimed, though rumour declared that he had forged it. He graced the festival that followed with many exhibits appropriate to a triumph, though they came from no booty that he had captured; on the contrary, the truce had cost him something besides his losses, for he had given large sums of money to Decebalus on the spot as well as artisans of every trade pertaining to both peace and war, and had promised to keep on giving large sums in the future. The exhibits which he displayed really came from the store of imperial furniture, which he at all times treated as

[1] This peculiar form of statement is evidently due to the epitomist, who has abridged Dio's fuller description.

αἰχμαλώτοις ἀεί ποτε ἐχρῆτο, ἅτε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν δεδουλωμένος.—Exc. U^R 14 (p. 400).

8 Καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὖσαν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ θέαν πολυτελῆ, ἐν ᾗ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐς ἱστορίαν ἐπίσημον παρελάβομεν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παρθένοι τῷ δρομικῷ ἠγωνίσαντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἑορτάς τινας νικητηρίους δῆθεν ἐπιτελῶν ἀγῶνας συχνοὺς
2 ἐποίησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ μάχας καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἱππέων αὖ συνέβαλε, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν καινῷ τινι χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ
3 τῶν θεωμένων· ὑετοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος σφοδροῦ ἐξαίφνης γενομένου οὐδενὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκ τῆς θέας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μανδύας ἀλλασσόμενος ἐκείνους οὐδὲν εἴασε μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐνόσησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἐτελεύτη-
4 σαν. ἐφ' ᾧ που παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς δεῖπνόν σφισι δημοσίᾳ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς παρέσχε. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νύκτωρ ἐποίει, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ νάνους[1] καὶ γυναῖκας συνέβαλλε.[2]

9 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος οὕτως τότε ἐδείπνισεν, αὖθις δὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. οἶκον μελάντατον ἁπανταχόθεν ἔκ τε τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ τ' ἐδάφους παρασκευάσας, καὶ κλισίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαπέδου γυμνὰς ὁμοίας ἑτοιμάσας, ἐσεκάλεσεν

[1] *νάνους* Leuncl., *νόννας* VC.
[2] *συνέβαλλε* R. Steph., *συνέβαλε* VC.

captured spoils, inasmuch as he had enslaved even the empire itself. A.D. 89(?)

So many honours were voted to him that almost the whole world (so far as it was under his dominion) was filled with his images and statues constructed of both silver and gold. He also gave a very costly spectacle, in regard to which we have noted nothing that was worthy of historic record except that maidens contended in the foot-race. After this, in the course of holding what purported to be triumphal celebrations, he arranged numerous contests. In the Circus, for example, he exhibited battles of infantry against infantry and again battles between cavalry, and in a new place he produced a naval battle. At this last event practically all the combatants and many of the spectators as well perished. For, though a heavy rain and violent storm came up suddenly, he nevertheless permitted no one to leave the spectacle; and though he himself changed his clothing to thick woollen cloaks, he would not allow the others to change their attire, so that not a few fell sick and died. By way, no doubt, of consoling the people for this, he provided for them at public expense a dinner lasting all night. Often he would conduct the games also at night, and sometimes he would pit dwarfs and women against each other.

At this time, then, he feasted the populace as described; and on another occasion he entertained the foremost men among the senators and knights in the following fashion. He prepared a room that was pitch black on every side, ceiling, walls and floor, and had made ready bare couches of the same colour resting on the uncovered floor; then he in-

2 αὐτοὺς μόνους νυκτὸς ἄνευ τῶν ἀκολούθων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν στήλην ταφοειδῆ ἑκάστῳ σφῶν παρέστησε, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν καὶ λυχνοῦχον μικρόν, οἷος[1] ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις κρεμάννυται·[2] ἔπειτα παῖδες εὐπρεπεῖς γυμνοί, μέλανι καὶ αὐτοὶ κεχρισμένοι, ἐσῆλθον ὥσπερ εἴδωλα, καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀρχήσεώς τινος φοβερᾶς πρὸ
3 ποδῶν ἱδρύθησαν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάνθ' ὅσαπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐναγίσμασι καθαγίζεται, καὶ ἐκείνοις μέλανα ἐν σκεύεσιν ὁμοίοις[3] προσηνέχθη, ὥστε καὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τρέμειν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πάντας, ἀεί τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη σφαγήσεσθαι προσδέχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων σιωπὴ πολλὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τεθνηκόσιν ἤδη ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς πάντα ἔς τε θανάτους
4 καὶ ἐς σφαγὰς φέροντα διελάλει. τέλος δὲ ἀφῆκε μὲν αὐτούς, προαπαλλάξας δὲ δὴ τοὺς οἰκέτας σφῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἑστηκότας, δι' ἑτέρων τινῶν ἀγνώστων τοὺς μὲν ὀχήμασι τοὺς δὲ φορείοις παραδοὺς πολὺ πλέον δέος αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλε. ἄρτι δὲ ἕκαστός σφων οἴκαδε ἐσεληλύθει καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναπνεῖν ἤρχετο, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐσηγγέλθη ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
5 τις ἥκοι. προσδοκώντων τε ἐκ τούτου τότε δὴ πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἐσεκόμισέ τις τὴν στήλην ἀργυρᾶν οὖσαν, εἶτ' ἄλλος ἄλλο τι καὶ ἕτερος ἕτερον τῶν σκευῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ παρατεθέντων, πολυτελεστάτου τινὸς γένους πεποιημένα· καὶ τέλος ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δαιμόνιον

[1] *οἷος* Reim., *οἷον* VC.
[2] *κρεμάννυται* H. Steph., *κρεμμάννυνται* V, *κρεμάννυνται* C.
[3] *ὁμοίοις* Leuncl., *ὁμοίως* VC.

vited in his guests alone at night without their attendants. And first he set beside each of them a slab shaped like a gravestone, bearing the guest's name and also a small lamp, such as hang in tombs. Next comely naked boys, likewise painted black, entered like phantoms, and after encircling the guests in an awe-inspiring dance took up their stations at their feet. After this all the things that are commonly offered at the sacrifices to departed spirits were likewise set before the guests, all of them black and in dishes of a similar colour. Consequently, every single one of the guests feared and trembled and was kept in constant expectation of having his throat cut the next moment, the more so as on the part of everybody but Domitian there was dead silence, as if they were already in the realms of the dead, and the emperor himself conversed only upon topics relating to death and slaughter. Finally he dismissed them; but he had first removed their slaves, who had stood in the vestibule, and now gave his guests in charge of other slaves, whom they did not know, to be conveyed either in carriages or litters, and by this procedure he filled them with far greater fear. And scarcely had each guest reached his home and was beginning to get his breath again, as one might say, when word was brought him that a messenger from the Augustus had come. While they were accordingly expecting to perish this time in any case, one person brought in the slab, which was of silver, and then others in turn brought in various articles, including the dishes that had been set before them at the dinner, which were constructed of very costly material; and last of all [came] that particular boy A.D. 89(?)

ἑκάστῳ, λελουμένος τε καὶ κεκοσμημένος . . .[1] καὶ οὕτω διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς φοβούμενοι τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβον.

6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δομιτιανὸς τοιαῦτα νικητήρια, ἢ ὥς γε ὁ ὅμιλος ἔλεγε, τοιούτους ἐναγισμοὺς ἐπί τε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τεθνηκόσιν ἐποίησε, καί τινας καὶ τότε τῶν πρώτων ἀπέσφαξε, τοῦ τε θάψαντος τὸ σῶμα ἑνὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου χωρίοις ἐτεθνήκει, τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο.

10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Δακικῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τάδε συνεκύρησεν ἀξιόλογα. ὁ γὰρ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῷ πολέμῳ τἆλλά τε παρεσκευάσατο εὖ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τά τε ἑαυτῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπιγράψαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἐκφανέστεροι οἵ τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῶν ἢ κακὸν ποιοῦντες γένωνται.
2 συμβαλὼν δὲ ἐν ταῖς Τάπαις τοῖς πολεμίοις πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Οὐεζίνας, τὰ δεύτερα μετὰ Δεκέβαλον ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διαφυγεῖν ζῶν, πέπτωκεν ἐξεπίτηδες ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκώς, κἀκ τούτου λαθὼν τῆς νυκτὸς
3 ἔφυγε. δείσας οὖν ὁ Δεκέβαλος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια αὐτοῦ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἅτε κεκρατηκότες ὁρμήσωσι, τά τε δένδρα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς[2] ὄντα ἔκοψε καὶ ὅπλα τοῖς στελέχεσι περιέθηκεν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες ὡς καὶ στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἀναχωρήσωσιν. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 219, 24–221, 20 R. St.

5, 1 Ὅτι Χαριόμηρος ὁ τῶν Χερούσκων βασιλεύς,

[1] Lacuna recognized by Xyl., who supplied ἐσῆλθε.

who had been each guest's familiar spirit, now washed A.D.89(?) and adorned. Thus, after having passed the entire night in terror, they received the gifts.

Such was the triumphal celebration, or, as the crowd put it, such was the funeral banquet that Domitian held for those who had died in Dacia and in Rome. Even at this time, too, he slew some of the foremost men. And in the case of a certain man who buried the body of one of the victims, he deprived him of his property because it was on his estate that the victim had died.

Other events worth recording that took place in the Dacian War are as follows. Julianus, who was appointed by the emperor to conduct the war, made many excellent regulations, one being his order that the soldiers should inscribe their own names as well as those of their centurions upon their shields, in order that those of their number who should perform any particularly good or base deed might be more readily recognized. He encountered the enemy at Tapae, and slew great numbers of them. One of them, Vezinas, who ranked next to Decebalus, finding that he could not get away alive, fell down purposely, as if dead; in this manner he escaped notice and fled during the night. Decebalus, fearing that the Romans, now that they had conquered, would proceed against his royal residence, cut down the trees that were on the site and put armour on the trunks, in order that the Romans might take them for soldiers and so be frightened and withdraw; and this actually happened.

Chariomerus, the king of the Cherusci, had been A.D.90(?)

[2] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς V, ἐπ' αὐτῶν C.

ὑπὸ Χάττων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν ἐκπεσών, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἑτέρους τινὰς παρέλαβε καὶ κρείττων ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ ἐγένετο, ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴ ὁμήρους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔπεμψε, τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἱκέτευσε καὶ συμμαχίας μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε, χρήματα δὲ ἔλαβεν.—Exc. U[G] 43 (p. 399).

11 Ἀντώνιος δέ τις ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ἄρχων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ἐπανέστη, ὃν Λούκιος Μάξιμος κατηγωνίσατο καὶ καθεῖλεν· ὃς ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ νίκῃ οὐδὲν μέγα ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖσθαι (πολλοὶ γάρ που καὶ ἄλλοι παρὰ δόξαν ἐνίκησαν, οἵ τε στρατιῶται αὐτῷ συνη-
2 γωνίσαντο)· ὅτι δὲ τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κιβωτίοις εὑρέθη, παρὰ βραχὺ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν συκοφαντηθῆναι θέμενος, ἔκαυσεν, οὐχ ὁρῶ πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως ὑμνήσαιμι.—Xiph. 221, 20–26 R. St., Exc. Val. 282 (p. 709).

Ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανὸς ἀφορμῆς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορήσας, ἐπὶ τοὺς φόνους καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων χωρὶς ὁρμήσας, οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσους ἀπέκτεινεν.—Xiph. 221, 26–28 R. St.

3 Ὅτι τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ[1] κολασθέντων οὐδ' ἂν εὑρεῖν τις δυνηθείη. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ[2] κατέγνω ὥσθ', ἵνα μηδεμία μνήμη τῶν θανατουμένων ὑπολειφθῇ, ἐκώλυσέ σφας ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τῇ βουλῇ τι ἐπέστειλε, καίπερ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν,

[1] Δομιτιανοῦ Val., δομιτίου cod. Peir.

driven out of his kingdom by the Chatti on account of his friendship for the Romans. At first he gathered some companions and was successful in his attempt to return; but later he was deserted by these men when he sent hostages to the Romans, and so became the suppliant of Domitian. He did not secure any military support but received money. A.D. 90(?)

A certain Antonius, who was governor of Germany at this period, revolted against Domitian; but Lucius Maximus overcame him and destroyed him. Now so far as this victory was concerned Maximus does not deserve any particular praise (for many others have won unexpected victories, and moreover his troops contributed to his success), but for his action in burning all the papers that were found in the chests of Antonius, thus esteeming his own safety as of slight importance in comparison with the preventing of their use for the purpose of blackmailing anyone, I do not see how I can praise him enough.

Domitian, however, as he had got a pretext from that source, proceeded to commit a series of murders even without the papers in question, and it would be impossible to say how many he killed. A.D. 90(?)

It would be impossible to discover the total number of those who were executed by Domitian. Indeed, he condemned himself so severely for this course that, in order to prevent any remembrance of those who were put to death from surviving, he prohibited the entering of their names in the records. Furthermore, he did not even send any communication to the senate regarding those who had been put out of the way, though he sent their heads as well as that of

[2] τούτῳ Val., τοῦτο cod. Peir.

ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκθείς.—Exc. Val. 283 (p. 709).
4 *Εἷς δ' οὖν τις νεανίσκος Ἰούλιος Κάλουαστρος,*[1]
κεχιλιαρχηκὼς ἐς βουλείας ἐλπίδα, παραδο-
ξότατα ἐσώθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλάκις κατὰ μόνας
συμμεμιχὼς ἠλέγχετο, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἄλλως
τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀπολύσηται, ἔφη
κατ' ἐρωτικὴν χρείαν αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι· καὶ
γὰρ ἦν οἷος ἐρᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως
ἀφείθη, ἓν δ'[2] *ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν τότε*
5 *γενομένων παύσομαι. Λουσιανὸς Πρόκλος βου-*
λευτὴς γέρων, ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβων,
συνεξῆλθε μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καταναγ-
κάσαντι, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ κινδυνεύοντα αὐτὸν
προλιπεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, τῆς δ'
ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης ἔφη τε "ἐνίκησας αὐτο-
κράτορ, ὥσπερ ηὐχόμην· ἀπόδος οὖν με τῷ
ἀγρῷ," καὶ ἐγκαταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ
χωρίον, καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι πολὺν
ἐπιζήσας χρόνον, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ.
6 *Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπετήδευσάν τινες,*
φαρμάκῳ βελόνας χρίοντες, κεντεῖν αὐταῖς οὓς
ἐβούλοντο· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκείνων μηδὲ αἰ-
σθόμενοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μηνυθέντες
ἐτιμωρήθησαν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μόνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐγένετο.
12 *Τραϊανῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Οὐλπίῳ καὶ Ἀκιλίῳ*[3]
Γλαβρίωνι[4] *ὑπατεύσασι τότε τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα*

[1] *Κάλουαστρος* R. St., *καλούεστρος* VC.
[2] δ' supplied by Capps, *ἐγὼ δ' ἓν ἔτι* Sylb.
[3] *Ἀκιλίῳ* Leuncl., *ἀκουλίω* VC.
[4] *Γλαβρίωνι* R. Steph., *γραυλίωνι* VC (so just below).

Antonius to Rome and caused them to be exposed A.D. 90(?) in the Forum.

One young man, Julius Calvaster, who had served as military tribune as a stepping-stone to the senate, was saved in a most extraordinary way. When it was being shown that he had had frequent meetings alone with Antonius, and he had no other way to free himself from the charge of conspiracy, he declared that he had met him for amorous intercourse; and in fact he was of an appearance to inspire passion. Thus he was acquitted. I will relate one more incident of this period, as follows, and then desist. Lusianus Proclus, an aged senator, who spent most of his time in the country, had set out with Domitian from Rome, feeling constrained to do so, that he might not appear to have deserted him in his peril and so be put to death. But when the news[1] came, he said: "You have conquered, emperor, as I always prayed; restore me, therefore, to my country estate." Thereupon he left him and retired to his farm; and after this, though he survived a long time, he never came near him.

During this period some persons made a business of smearing needles with poison and then pricking with them whomsoever they would. Many persons who were thus attacked died without even knowing the cause, but many of the murderers were informed against and punished. And this sort of thing happened not only in Rome but over practically the whole world.

The same portents are said to have appeared to A.D. 91 Ulpius Trajan and to Acilius Glabrio when they

[1] *i.e.* of the victory over Antonius.

λεγεται γενέσθαι· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν Γλαβρίωνι ὄλεθρος, τῷ δὲ Τραϊανῷ ἡ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀρχὴ προερρέθη.

Συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πλουσίων ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ἐκολάσθησαν, ὧν ἔνιαι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμοιχεύθησαν. καὶ ἄλλαις δ' αἰτίαις
2 πολλοὶ καὶ ἐζημιώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον·[1] γυνὴ γάρ[2] τις ὅτι ἀπεδύσατο ἐναντίον εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ[3] ἐκρίθη τε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἕτερος ὡς ἀστρολόγοις ὡμιληκώς.[4] ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε τελευτήσασι πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ Μέττιος[5] Πομπουσιανὸς ἐγέ-
3 νετο, ὃν ὁ μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς μαθὼν ἐκ φήμης τινὸς ὅτι μοναρχήσει οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ[6] καὶ ἐτίμα, λέγων ὅτι "πάντως μου μνημονεύσει καὶ πάντως με ἀντιτιμήσει," ἐκεῖνος
4 δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐς Κύρνον ἐξώρισε, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν, ἐγκληθέντα ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοίχοις εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένην, καὶ τὰς δημηγορίας τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, τὰς παρὰ τῷ Λιουίῳ[7] γεγραμμένας, ἐξειλόχει
5 τε καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε. Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν, ἀπέκτεινε. συνεγίνετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσουσι καὶ τοῖς καταμαρτυρήσουσι, καὶ συνέπλαττε καὶ συνετίθει πάνθ' ὅσα λεχθῆναι ἔδει. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς δεσμώταις κατὰ μόνας ἐλάλει, τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλοις

[1] *συχνοὶ—ἀπέθανον* Zon., om. Xiph.
[2] *γάρ* Zon., *δέ* VC.
[3] *αὐτοῦ* Zon., *τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ* VC.
[4] *καὶ ἕτερος—ὡμιληκώς* Zon., om. Xiph.

entered upon the consulship at this time; to Glabrio A.D. 91
they announced destruction, but to Trajan his assumption of the imperial office.

Many men and women alike among the wealthy were punished for adultery; some of these women had been debauched by Domitian himself. Many persons were also fined or put to death on other charges. Thus, a woman was tried and put to death because she had undressed in front of an image of Domitian, and a man for having associated with astrologers. Among the many who perished at this time was Mettius Pompusianus, whom Vespasian had failed to harm after learning from some report that he would one day be sovereign, but on the contrary had shown him honour, declaring: "He will surely remember me and will surely honour me in return." But Domitian first exiled him to Corsica and now put him to death, one of the complaints against him being that he had a map of the world painted on the walls of his bed-chamber, and another complaint being that he had excerpted and was wont to read the speeches of kings and other leaders that are recorded in Livy. Also Maternus, a sophist, was put out of the way because in a practice speech he had said something against tyrants. The emperor himself used to visit those who were expecting to accuse or to give evidence of guilt and he would help to frame and compose all that required to be said. Often, too, he would talk to the prisoners alone, while holding their chains in his hands; for he would not entrust to others the knowledge of

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[5] Μέττιος Bs., μέτιος VC Zon.
[6] ἀλλὰ Reim., ὅτι VC.
[7] Λιουίῳ Bk., λιβίω VC.

τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ δεδεμένους ἐδεδίει.—Xiph. 221, 28–222, 31 R. St., Zon. 11, 19, p. 59, 17–23 D.

5, 2 *Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Λύγιοι Σουήβοις τισὶ πολεμωθέντες πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, αἰτοῦντες συμμαχίαν παρὰ Δομιτιανοῦ, καὶ ἔλαβον οὐ τῷ πλήθει ἰσχυρὰν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώματι· ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μόνοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόθησαν. ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ Σουῆβοι προσπαρέλαβον Ἰάζυγας, καὶ προπαρεσκευάζοντο*[1] *ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἴστρον διαβησόμενοι.*—Exc. U^G 44 (p. 399).

5, 3 *Ὅτι Μάσυος*[2] *ὁ Σεμνόνων βασιλεὺς καὶ Γάννα (παρθένος ἦν μετὰ τὴν Οὐελήδαν*[3] *ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα) ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανόν, καὶ τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχόντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν.*—Exc. U^G 45 (p. 400) = Suid. *s.v. θειάζουσα.*

13 *Ἔπραξε δέ τι καὶ ὡς τιμητὴς ἀξιόλογον· Καικίλιον*[4] *γὰρ Ῥουφῖνον ἀπήλασεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὠρχεῖτο, Κλαύδιόν τε Πακᾶτον τῷ δεσπότῃ καίπερ ἑκατονταρχηκότα ἀπέδωκεν,*
2 *ὅτι ἠλέγχθη δοῦλος ὤν. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ῥηθῆναι τούτοις ὅμοιόν ἐστιν, ὅπερ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπεποιήκει· τὸν γὰρ δὴ Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἀρουλῆνον*[5] *ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θρασέαν ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζε, καὶ Ἑρέννιον*[6] *Σενεκίωνα ὅτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ τὴν ταμιείαν ᾐτήκει καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ Ἑλουιδίου τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν.*
3 *ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συχνοὶ διώλοντο, καὶ οἱ λοι-*

[1] *προπαρεσκευάζοντο* Leuncl., *προσπαρεσκευάζοντο* MSS.

what was going to be said, and as for the accused, A.D. 91
he feared them even in their bonds.

In Moesia the Lygians,[1] having become involved A.D. 91–92 in war with some of the Suebi, sent envoys asking Domitian for aid. And they obtained a force that was strong, not in numbers, but in dignity; for a hundred knights alone were sent to help them. The Suebi, indignant at his giving help, attached to themselves some Iazyges and were making their preparations to cross the Ister with them.

Masyus, king of the Semnones, and Ganna, a virgin who was priestess in Germany, having succeeded Veleda, came to Domitian and after being honoured by him returned home.

As censor, likewise, his behaviour was noteworthy. A.D. 93
He expelled Caecilius Rufinus from the senate because he acted pantomimes, and restored Claudius Pacatus, though an ex-centurion, to his master, because he was proved to be a slave. But the deeds now to be related—deeds which he performed as emperor—cannot be described in similar terms. I refer to his killing of Arulenus Rusticus because he was a philosopher and because he called Thrasea holy, and to his slaying of Herennius Senecio because in his long career he had stood for no office after his quaestorship and because he had written the biography of Helvidius Priscus. Many others also perished as a result of this same charge of philosophizing, and

[1] This is an error; the Lygians lived north of Moesia.

[2] *Μάσυος* ABM, *Μαίσυας* Suid.
[3] *Οὐελήδαν* Leuncl. (*βελήδαν*), *βελήδα* ABM Suid.
[4] *Καικίλιον* H. Steph., *κεκίλιον* VC.
[5] *Ἀρουλῆνον* Bk., *ἀρουλῖνον* VC.
[6] *Ἑρέννιον* R. Steph., *ἀρρένιον* VC.

ποὶ πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης.
Ἰουουέντιος[1] *μέντοι τις* Κέλσος *συνομόσας τε*
ἀνὰ πρώτους μετά τινων ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατη-
4 *γορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαυμαστῶς ἐσώθη. μέλλων*
γὰρ ἁλίσκεσθαι ᾐτήσατο δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεῖν
τι αὐτῷ, κἀν τούτῳ προσκυνήσας αὐτῷ, δεσπότην
τε καὶ θεόν, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη προσηγορεύ-
ετο, πολλάκις ὀνομάσας, "οὐδὲν μὲν" ἔφη
"πεποίηκα[2] *τοιοῦτον, ἂν δ' ἀναβολὴν λάβω,*
πολυπραγμονήσω πάντα, καὶ συχνούς σοι καὶ
μηνύσω καὶ ἐξελέγξω." ἀφεθείς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ
οὔτε ἐνέδειξέ τινα, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλας προφάσεις
προτείνων διήγαγε μέχρις οὗ Δομιτιανὸς *ἀπέ-*
θανεν.

14 Ἐν *τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ* Σινοέσσης[3]
ἐς Ποντεόλους[4] *ἄγουσα λίθοις ἐστορέσθη. κἀν*
τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φλά-
ουιον[5] *τὸν*[6] Κλήμεντα *ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνε-*
ψιὸν ὄντα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενῆ ἑαυτοῦ
Φλαουίαν[7] Δομιτίλλαν *ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ*
2 Δομιτιανός.[8] *ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα*
ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ
οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γοῦν οὐσιῶν ἐστε-
ρήθησαν· ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα *ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον ἐς*
3 Πανδατερίαν. *τὸν δὲ δὴ* Γλαβρίωνα *τὸν μετὰ*
τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ *ἄρξαντα, κατηγορηθέντα τά τε*

[1] *Ἰουουέντιος* Reim. (*Ἰουβέντιος*), *ἰουβένιος* VC.
[2] *πεποίηκα* R. Steph., *πεποιηκότα* VC.
[3] *Σινοέσσης* R. Steph., *σινοέσης* VC.
[4] *Ποντεόλους* R. Steph., *ποτιόλους* VC.
[5] *Φλάουιον* Reim. (*Φλάβιον*), *φάβιον* VC.
[6] *τὸν* supplied by Bk.

all the philosophers that were left in Rome were banished once more. One Juventius Celsus, however, who had taken a leading part in conspiring with certain others against Domitian and had been accused of this, saved his life in a remarkable way. When he was on the point of being condemned, he begged that he might speak to the emperor in private, and thereupon did obeisance before him and after repeatedly calling him "master" and "god" (terms that were already being applied to him by others), he said: "I have done nothing of this sort, but if I obtain a respite, I will pry into everything and will not only bring information against many persons for you but also secure their conviction." He was released on this condition, but did not report any one; instead, by advancing different excuses at different times, he lived until the death of Domitian. A.D. 91

At this time the road leading from Sinuessa to Puteoli was paved with stone. And the same year Domitian slew, along with many others, Flavius Clemens the consul, although he was a cousin and had to wife Flavia Domitilla, who was also a relative of the emperor's.[1] The charge brought against them both was that of atheism, a charge on which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned. Some of these were put to death, and the rest were at least deprived of their property. Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria. But Glabrio, who had been Trajan's colleague in the A.D. 95

[1] His sister's daughter.

[7] Φλαουίαν Bk., φλαβίαν VC.
[8] Δομιτιανὸς R. Steph., δομίτιος VC.

ἄλλα καὶ οἷα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' ᾧ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἔσχεν, ὅτι ὑπατεύοντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ[1] Ἀλβανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ Νεανισκεύματα ὠνομασμένα καλέσας λέοντα ἀποκτεῖναι μέγαν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ ὃς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐλυμάνθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐστοχώτατα αὐτὸν κατειργάσατο.

4 Ὑποπτεύων οὖν ἐκ τούτων πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάρχοις, οὕς γε καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρίνεσθαι ἐποίει, ἐλπίδα ἀσφαλείας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον δὲ τὸν[2] Νέρωνος πρότερον μὲν ἐξεδίωξε τότε δὲ καὶ ἔσφαξεν, ἐπικαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι μὴ ἤμυνε τῷ Νέρωνι, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἐποιεῖτο, πόρρωθεν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξελευθέρους[3] ἐκφοβήσῃ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τολμῆσαι.
5 οὐ μὴν ὠφελήθη τι ἐκ τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει ἐπί τε Γαΐου Οὐάλεντος, ὃς ἐνενηκοστῷ ἔτει ὑπατεύσας ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐπὶ Γαΐου Ἀντιστίου ὑπάτων, καὶ[4] ἀπώλετο.

15 Ἐπέθεντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συνεσκευάσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν Παρθένιός τε ὁ πρόκοιτος αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὕτω τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ξιφηφορεῖν, καὶ Σιγηρὸς ἐν τῇ προκοιτίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν,

[1] τὸ Leuncl., τὸν VC.
[2] τὸν Sylb., τοῦ VC.
[3] ἐξελευθέρους Reim., ἐλευθέρους VC.
[4] καὶ supplied by Bk.

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[1] An error for T. Manlius Valens.
[2] This was a privilege normally accorded only to generals appointed by the emperor.

consulship, was put to death, having been accused A.D. 95
of the same crimes as most of the others, and, in particular, of fighting as a gladiator with wild beasts. Indeed, his prowess in the arena was the chief cause of the emperor's anger against him, an anger prompted by jealousy. For in Glabrio's consulship Domitian had summoned him to his Alban estate to attend the festival called the Juvenalia and had imposed on him the task of killing a large lion; and Glabrio not only had escaped all injury but had despatched the lion with most accurate aim.

As a consequence of his cruelty the emperor was suspicious of all mankind, and from now on ceased to repose hopes of safety in either the freedmen or yet the prefects, whom he usually caused to be brought to trial during their very term of office. He had first banished and now slew Epaphroditus, Nero's freedman, accusing him of having failed to defend Nero; for he wished by the vengeance that he took on Nero's behalf to terrify his own freedmen long in advance, so that they should venture no similar deed. Yet it availed him naught, for he became the object of a conspiracy in the following year, and perished in the consulship of Gaius[1] Valens (who A.D. 96
died after entering upon the consulship in his ninetieth year) and of Gaius Antistius.

Those who attacked him and planned the deed were Parthenius, his chamberlain, although he had been so highly honoured by the emperor as to be allowed to wear a sword,[2] and Sigerus,[3] who was also one of the chamberlains, together with Entellus,

[3] Probably the man who is called Saturius by Suetonius (*Dom.* 17).

Ἔντελλός τε ὁ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέπων
2 μετὰ Στεφάνου ἀπελευθέρου. καὶ αὐτὸ[1] οὔτε ἡ Δομιτία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὔτε δὲ ὁ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος οὐδ' ὁ συνάρχων[2] Πετρώνιος Σεκοῦνδος ἠγνόησαν, ὥς γε καὶ λέγονται· ἥ τε γὰρ Δομιτία ἀεί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμισεῖτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐφίλουν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐνεκαλοῦντό τινα, οἱ δ' ὅτι
3 προσεδέχοντο. ἤκουσα δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι πάντας ἅμα αὐτοὺς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑποπτεύσας ἀποκτεῖναι ἠθέλησε, καί σφων τὰ ὀνόματα ἐς σανίδιον φιλύρινον δίθυρον ἐσγράψας ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀνεπαύετο ὑπέθηκε, καὶ αὐτὸ παιδίον τι τῶν γυμνῶν τῶν ψιθύρων καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφε-
4 λόμενον εἶχεν, οὐκ εἰδὸς ὅ τι φέροι, προστυχοῦσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ Δομιτία τά τε γεγραμμένα ἀνέγνω καὶ ἐμήνυσε καὶ ἐκείνοις, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλως διανοούμενοι συνετάχυναν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον ἐπεχείρησαν ἔργῳ πρὶν τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ βεβαιώσασθαι.
5 διελέξαντο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισί, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐκείνων δεξαμένου (πάντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς διαπειρωμένους σφῶν ἐφοβήθησαν) ἐπὶ τὸν Νέρουαν ἦλθον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εὐγενέστατος καὶ ἐπιεικέστατος ἦν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε διαβληθεὶς ὑπ'

[1] αὐτὸ R. Steph., αὐτὸν VC.
[2] συνάρχων Zon., σύναρχος VC.

who was in charge of petitions, and Stephanus, a freedman.[1] The plot was not unknown to Domitia, the emperor's wife, nor to the prefect Norbanus, nor to the latter's colleague, Petronius Secundus; at least, this is the tradition. For Domitia was ever an object of Domitian's hatred and consequently she stood in terror of her life; and the others no longer loved him, some of them because complaints had been lodged against them and others because they were expecting complaints to be lodged. For my part, I have heard also the following account —that Domitian, having become suspicious of these persons, conceived the desire to kill them all at the same time, and wrote their names on a two-leaved tablet of linden-wood, which he placed under his pillow on the couch on which he was wont to take his rest; and one of the naked "whispering" boys[2] filched it away while the emperor was asleep in the day-time and kept it without knowing what it contained. Domitia then chanced upon it, and reading what was written, gave information of the matter to those concerned. Accordingly they hastened the plot which they already were forming; yet they did not proceed to carry it out until they had determined who was to succeed to the imperial office. They discussed the matter with various men, and when none of them would accept it (for all were afraid of them, believing that they were testing their loyalty), they betook themselves to Nerva. For he was at once of the noblest birth and of a most amiable nature, and he had furthermore been in peril of his life as the result of being denounced A.D. 96

[1] All those mentioned were in fact freedmen.

[2] Cf. xlviii. 44.

ἀστρολόγων, ὅτι μοναρχήσει φησάντων·[1] *ἐξ οὗπερ ῥᾷον ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν*
6 *ἡγεμονίαν. πάντως*[2] *γὰρ καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς τῶν πρώτων τάς τε ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ὥρας ἐν αἷς ἐγεγέννηντο*[3] *διασκοπῶν, οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκ τούτου τῶν οὐδὲ ἐλπιζόντων*[4] *ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ ἔσεσθαι προανήλισκε· καὶ τόν γε Νέρουαν ἀπέσφαξεν ἄν, εἰ μή τις τῶν ἀστρολόγων εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἔφη ὅτι ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τελευτήσει. πιστεύσας γὰρ ὄντως τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε κἀκεῖνον πεφονευκέναι ὡς πάντως μετὰ μικρὸν τεθνηξόμενον.*[5]—Xiph. 222, 31–225, 4 R. St., Zon. 11, 20, p. 63, 1–9 D.

16 *Καὶ οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀπρόοπτον, ἄλλα τε*[6] *αὐτῷ σημεῖα ἐγένετο οὐκ αἴσια,*[7] *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τόν τε Ῥούστικον ξίφει προσιέναι οἱ, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι ἱδρυμένην εἶχε, τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἵππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν ἔδοξεν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων*
2 *ἄξιον θαυμάσαι ἐστί, Λαργῖνός τις Πρόκλος δημοσίᾳ προειπὼν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὅτι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀπέθανε τελευτήσει, ἀνεπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐσαχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἔφη καὶ τότε τοῦθ' οὕτως ἕξειν, καὶ καταδικασθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ*[8] *ἀνεβλήθη τε ὅπως διαφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κίν-*

[1] *ὅτι—φησάντων* Zon., om. Xiph.
[2] *πάντως* VC, *πάντων* Zon.
[3] *ἐγεγέννηντο* Zon., *ἐγεγέννητο* VC.
[4] *ἐκ τούτου τῶν οὐδὲ ἐλπιζόντων* Polak, *οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐλπιζόντων* VC, *κἀκ τούτου τῶν ἐλπιζομένων* Zon.

by astrologers who declared that he should be sovereign. It was this last circumstance that made it easier for them to persuade him to accept the imperial power. Domitian, of course, had not failed to take careful note of the days and the hours when the foremost men had been born, and in consequence was destroying in advance not a few of those who were not even hoping for the attainment of power; and he would have slain Nerva, had not one of the astrologers who was friendly to the latter declared that the man would die within a few days. And so Domitian, believing that this would really come to pass, did not wish to be guilty of this additional murder, since Nerva was to die so soon in any case. A.D. 95

Since no event of such magnitude happens unforeseen, various unfavourable omens occurred in the case of Domitian. Among other things he himself dreamed that Rusticus approached him with a sword, and that Minerva, whose statue he kept in his bed-chamber, had thrown away her weapons, and, mounted upon a chariot drawn by black horses, was plunging into an abyss. But the most remarkable circumstance of all was the following. Larginus Proculus, having publicly announced in the province of Germany that the emperor would die on the day when he actually did die, had been sent on to Rome by the governor, and when brought before Domitian had again declared that it should so come to pass. He was accordingly condemned to death, but his execution was postponed in order that he might die

[5] πιστεύσας—τεθνηξόμενον Zon., om. Xiph.
[6] τε Sylb., γε VC.
[7] οὐκ αἴσια Zon., om. Xiph.
[8] ἐπὶ θανάτῳ St., ἐπὶ θάνατον VC.

δυνον ἀποθάνῃ, κἂν τούτῳ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ σφαγέντος ἐσώθη καὶ δέκα μυριάδας δραχμῶν
3 παρὰ τοῦ Νέρουα ἔλαβεν. ἕτερος τέ τις πρότερόν ποτε εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὅπως φθαρήσεται, ἔπειτα ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁποίῳ αὐτὸς τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσεται, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀναλωθήσεται, ἐκελεύσθη μὲν ζῶν κατακαυθῆναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῷ προσήχθη, ὑετοῦ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πολλοῦ καταρρυέντος ἥ τε πυρὰ ἐσβέσθη καὶ ἐκεῖνον κύνες ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένον καὶ ἐπικείμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς[1] εὑρόντες διεσπάραξαν.

17 Ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν παραδοξότατον, ὃ ἐπειδὰν περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ φράσω, σημανῶ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀνέστη καὶ ἀναπαύσεσθαι τὸ μεθημερινόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἔμελλε, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ξίφους, ὃ ἀεί ποτε ὑπὸ τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο, τὸ σιδήριον ὁ Παρθένιος ἐξεῖλεν, ὅπως μὴ χρήσηται, ἔπειτα τὸν Στέφανον ἐρρωμενέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ὄντα
2 ἐσέπεμψε· καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔπληξε μὲν τὸν Δομιτιανόν, οὐ μὴν καιρίαν, ἀλλὰ καταβληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. οὕτω δὲ δείσας μὴ διαφύγῃ, ἐπεσεπήδησεν, ἢ ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, Μάξιμον ἐξελεύθερον ἐπεσέπεμψε. καὶ ὅ τε Δομιτιανὸς οὕτω κατεσφάγη, καὶ ὁ Στέφανος παραχρῆμα συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐ συμμετεσχηκότων τῆς συνωμοσίας προσαπώλετο.[2]

18 Ὃ δ' εἶπον ὅτι ὑπὲρ πάντα τἆλλα θαυμάσας ἔχω, τόδ' ἐστίν. Ἀπολλώνιός τις Τυανεὺς ἔν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ὁ

[1] ἐπ' αὐτῆς VC, αὐτῇ Zon.
[2] προσαπώλετο Zon., om. Xiph.

after the emperor had escaped the danger; but in the meantime Domitian was slain, and so Proculus' life was saved and he received 400,000 sesterces from Nerva. Some one else, also, had told Domitian on a previous occasion both the time and the manner of his death, and then, upon being asked what manner of death he, the prophet, should meet, had replied that he should be devoured by dogs. Thereupon command was given that he should be burned alive, and the fire was applied to him; but just then there was a great downpour of rain, the pyre was extinguished, and later dogs found him lying upon it with his hands bound behind him and tore him to pieces. A.D. 95

I have one more astonishing fact to record, which I shall give after describing Domitian's end. As soon as he rose to leave the court-room and was ready to take his afternoon rest, as was his custom, first Parthenius removed the blade from the sword which always lay under his pillow, so that Domitian should not have the use of it, and then he sent in Stephanus, who was stronger than the others. Stephanus smote Domitian, and though it was not a fatal blow, the emperor was nevertheless knocked to the ground, where he lay prostrate. Then, fearing that he might escape, Parthenius rushed in, or, as some believe, he sent in Maximus, a freedman. Thus not only was Domitian murdered, but Stephanus, too, perished when those who had not shared in the conspiracy made a concerted rush upon him.

The matter of which I spoke, saying that it surprises me more than anything else, is this. A certain Apollonius of Tyana on that very day and at that very hour when Domitian was being murdered

Δομιτιανὸς ἐσφάττετο (τοῦτο γὰρ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένων ἠκριβώθη) ἀναβὰς ἐπί τινα λίθον ὑψηλὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρωθι, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ταῦτα εἶπε·[1] "*καλῶς, Στέφανε, εὖ γε, Στέφανε· παῖε τὸν μιαιφόνον. ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας.*"

2 *τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κἂν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ· Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἔζησε μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ*[2] *μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Φυλλὶς ἡ τροφὸς κλέψασα ἔθαψεν.*—Xiph. 225, 4–226, 10 R. St.

[1] Cf. Zonaras: *ἐπί τινα ὥραν ἐνεὸς ἔστη, εἶτα ἐξεβόησεν.*
[2] *καὶ* Zon., om. VC.

(as was afterwards accurately determined by events A.D. 96
that happened in both places) mounted a lofty rock at Ephesus (or possibly it was somewhere else) and having called together the populace,[1] uttered these words: "Good, Stephanus! Bravo, Stephanus! Smite the bloodthirsty wretch! You have struck, you have wounded, you have slain." This is what actually happened, though one should doubt it ten thousand times over. Domitian had lived forty-four years, ten months and twenty-six days, and had reigned fifteen years and five days. His body was stolen away and was buried by his nurse Phyllis.

[1] Zonaras adds: "stood there speechless for some time, and then cried out."

EPITOME OF BOOK LXVIII

1 Μετὰ δὲ Δομιτιανὸν Νέρουαν Κοκκήιον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέδειξαν αὐτοκράτορα. μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀργυραῖ πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ χρυσαῖ οὖσαι, συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη· καὶ αἱ ἁψῖδες πλεῖσται δὴ ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ ποιούμεναι καθῃρέ-
2 θησαν. καὶ ὁ Νέρουας τούς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε, τούς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας πάντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοιούτοις οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐφῆκε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὔτ' ἀσεβείας οὔτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου καταιτιᾶσθαί τινας συνεχώρησε. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικάσθησαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος.
3 ταραχῆς οὖν γενομένης οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐκ τοῦ πάντας πάντων κατηγορεῖν, λέγεται Φρόντωνα τὸν ὕπατον εἰπεῖν ὡς κακὸν μέν ἐστιν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν ἐφ' οὗ μηδενὶ μηδὲν ἔξεστι ποιεῖν, χεῖρον δὲ ἐφ' οὗ πᾶσι πάντα· καὶ ὁ Νέρουας ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἦν δὲ ὁ Νέρουας ὑπό τε τοῦ γήρως καὶ ὑπ' ἀρρωστίας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀεί

EPITOME OF BOOK LXVIII

After Domitian, the Romans appointed Nerva A.D. 96
Cocceius emperor. Because of the hatred felt for Domitian, his images, many of which were of silver and many of gold, were melted down; and from this source large amounts of money were obtained. The arches, too, of which a very great number were being erected to this one man, were torn down. Nerva also released all who were on trial for *maiestas* and restored the exiles; moreover, he put to death all the slaves and the freedmen who had conspired against their masters and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters; and no persons were permitted to accuse anybody of *maiestas* or of adopting the Jewish mode of life. Many of those who had been informers were condemned to death, among others Seras,[1] the philosopher. When, now, no little commotion was occasioned by the fact that everybody was accusing everybody else, Fronto, the consul, is said to have remarked that it was bad to have an emperor under whom nobody was permitted to do anything, but worse to have one under whom everybody was permitted to do everything; and Nerva, on hearing this, ordered that this condition of affairs should cease for the future. Now Nerva was so old and so feeble in health (he always, for instance, had

[1] The name is suspicious and is perhaps corrupt.

2 ποτε ἥμει, ἀσθενέστερος. ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτῷ[1] χρυσοῦς ἢ ἀργυροῦς γίνεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ μάτην ἐστερημένοις πάντα ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔτι ὄντα εὑρέθη. τοῖς τε πάνυ πένησι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς χιλιάδα καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας γῆς κτῆσιν ἐχαρίσατο, βουλευταῖς τισι τήν τε ἀγορασίαν
2 αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν προστάξας. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπορῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἱμάτια καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ, ἄλλα τε ἔπιπλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἐκ[2] τῶν βασιλικῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χωρία καὶ οἰκίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα πλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀπέδοτο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐμικρολογήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
3 τούτῳ πολλοὺς εὐηργέτησε. καὶ πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ ἱπποδρομίας ἄλλας τέ τινας θέας κατέλυσε, συστέλλων ὡς οἷόν τε τὰ δαπανήματα. ὤμοσε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μηδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν φονεύσειν, ἐβεβαίωσέ τε τὸν ὅρκον καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθείς. ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδὲν
4 ὅ τι μὴ μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνουχίζεσθαί τινα μηδὲ[3] ἀδελφιδῆν γαμεῖν. τὸν δὲ Ῥοῦφον τὸν Οὐεργίνιον, καίπερ πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα ὀνομασθέντα, οὐκ ὤκνησεν ὑπατεύσας συνάρχοντα προσλαβεῖν· ἐφ' οὗ τῷ μνήματι τελευτήσαντος ἐπεγράφη ὅτι νικήσας Οὐίνδικα τὸ κράτος οὐχ ἑαυτῷ περιεποιήσατο ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι.

3 Νέρουας δὲ οὕτως ἦρχε καλῶς ὥστε ποτὲ

[1] αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῶ VC. [2] ἐκ supplied by Bk.
[3] μηδὲ Bk., μήτε VC.

to vomit up his food) that he was rather weak. He also forbade the making of gold or silver statues in his honour. To those who had been deprived of their property without cause under Domitian he gave back all that was still to be found in the imperial treasury. To the very poor Romans he granted allotments of land worth 60,000,000 sesterces, putting some senators in charge of their purchase and distribution. When he ran short of funds, he sold much wearing apparel and many vessels of silver and gold, besides furniture, both his own and that which belonged to the imperial residence, and many estates and houses—in fact, everything except what was indispensable. He did not, however, haggle over the price, but in this very matter benefited many persons. He abolished many sacrifices, many horse-races, and some other spectacles, in an attempt to reduce expenditures as far as possible. In the senate he took oath that he would not slay any of the senators, and he kept his pledge in spite of plots against himself. Moreover, he did nothing without the advice of the foremost men. Among his various laws were those prohibiting the castration of any man, and the marrying by any man of his own niece. When consul he did not hesitate to take as his colleague Virginius Rufus, though this man had often been saluted as emperor. After Rufus' death an inscription was placed on his tomb to the effect that, after conquering Vindex, he had claimed the power, not for himself, but for his country.[1]

A.D. 96 … A.D. 97

Nerva ruled so well that he once remarked: "I

[1] Cf. lxiii. 25 and Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 10.

εἰπεῖν "οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον πεποίηκα ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν τε καταθέσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς
2 *ἰδιωτεῦσαι."* Κράσσου τε Καλπουρνίου, *τῶν* Κράσσων *ἐκείνων ἐγγόνου, ἐπιβεβουλευκότος μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων αὐτῷ, παρεκαθίσατό τε αὐτοὺς ἔν τινι θέᾳ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι ὅτι καταμεμήνυνται, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ξίφη, λόγῳ μὲν ἵν᾽ ἐπισκέψωνται αὐτά, ὅπερ εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, εἰ ὀξέα ἐστίν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλει κἂν αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ἀποθάνῃ.*

3 Αἰλιανὸς *δὲ ὁ* Κασπέριος *ἄρχων καὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ* Δομιτιανοῦ, *τῶν δορυφόρων γενόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐστασίασε κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, παρασκευάσας ἐξαιτῆσαί τινας ὥστε θανατωθῆναι.*[1] *πρὸς οὓς ὁ* Νέρουας *τοσοῦτον ἀντέσχεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἀπογυμνῶσαι καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ προδεῖξαι. οὐ μήν τι καὶ ἤνυσεν, ἀλλ᾽*
4 *ἀνῃρέθησαν οὓς ὁ* Αἰλιανὸς *ἐβουλήθη. ὅθεν ὁ* Νέρουας *διὰ τὸ γῆρας οὕτω καταφρονούμενος ἀνέβη τε ἐς τὸ* Καπιτώλιον, *καὶ ἔφη γεγωνήσας "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν* Ῥωμαίων *καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ* Μᾶρκον Οὔλπιον Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν *ποιοῦμαι."*[2]

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 110 M. v. 1–6): *ὅτι Νέρβας, ἐπειδὴ πρός τινων διὰ τὸ γῆρας καταφρονηθεὶς ἐπεβουλεύθη πολλάκις, καὶ τὸν Πετρώνιον καὶ τὸν Παρθένιον, προσφιλεστάτους οἱ ὄντας, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς Αἰλιανοῦ τοῦ τῶν δορυφόρων ἡγουμένου ἐβιάσθη· ἐφ᾽ οἷς δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἠνιᾶτο.*

[2] Cf. Leo (p. 283, 6–9 Cram. = Cedr. 1, p. 433, 20–434, 2 B.): *ἐκ Παιονίας δὲ ἀγγελία ἐπινικίων ἐλθοῦσα παρὰ Τραϊανοῦ, ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἐπιθύσας, στάς τε ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ μεγάλα βοῶν τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρόντων, ἔφη "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Μάρκος Νέρβας Τραϊανὸν υἱοποιοῦμαι."*

have done nothing that would prevent my laying down the imperial office and returning to private life in safety." When Calpurnius Crassus, a descendant of the famous Crassi, had formed a plot with some others against him, he caused them to sit beside him at a spectacle (they were still ignorant of the fact that they had been informed upon) and gave them swords, ostensibly to inspect and see if they were sharp (as was often done), but really in order to show that he did not care even if he died then and there. A.D. 97

Casperius Aelianus, who had become commander of the Praetorians under him as he had been under Domitian, incited the soldiers to mutiny against him, after having induced them to demand certain persons for execution.[1] Nerva resisted them stoutly, even to the point of baring his collar-bone and presenting to them his throat; but he accomplished nothing, and those whom Aelianus wished were put out of the way. Nerva, therefore, finding himself held in such contempt by reason of his old age, ascended the Capitol and said in a loud voice: "May good success attend the Roman senate and people and myself. I hereby adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan."[2]

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: As plots were being formed against him frequently by various men who held him in contempt because of his age, Nerva was forced to surrender Petronius and Parthenius, who were very dear to him, at the instance of Aelianus, the commander of the Praetorians; and he was greatly grieved at this.

[2] Cf. Leo (= Cedrenus): When a message of victory came from Trajan in Paeonia, he went up to the Capitol and offered incense, then mounted a platform and speaking in a loud voice in the presence of the Roman senate and people, he said: "May good success attend us. I, Marcus Nerva, hereby adopt Trajan as my son."

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Καίσαρά τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ αὐτοχειρίᾳ (ἦρχε δὲ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκεῖνος)

τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

4 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Τραϊανὸς Καῖσαρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, καίτοι συγγενῶν τοῦ Νέρουα ὄντων τινῶν. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν συγγένειαν προετίμησεν, οὐδ' αὖ ὅτι Ἴβηρ ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰταλὸς οὐδ' Ἰταλιώτης ἦν, ἧττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν[1]
2 ἐποιήσατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν ἀλλοεθνὴς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐσχήκει· τὴν γὰρ ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν πατρίδα τινὸς ἐξετάζειν δεῖν ᾤετο. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα μετήλλαξεν, ἄρξας ἔτει ἑνὶ καὶ μησὶ τέσσαρσι καὶ ἡμέραις ἐννέα· προεβεβιώκει δὲ[2] πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα.

5 Τραϊανῷ δὲ ὄναρ ἐγεγόνει, πρὶν αὐταρχῆσαι, τοιόνδε· ἐδόκει ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ ἐσθῆτι περιπορφύρῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ στεφάνῳ ἐστολισμένον, οἷά που καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν γράφουσι, δακτυλίῳ τινὶ σφραγῖδα αὐτῷ ἔς τε τὴν ἀριστερὰν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν δεξιὰν
2 ἐπιβεβληκέναι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς οὐδένα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάξοι ἢ ἀτιμάσοι, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὅρκοις οὐ τότε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπιστώσατο.

[1] αὐτὸν Reim., αὐτὸς VC.
[2] προεβεβιώκει δὲ Bs., προσβεβιώκει δὲ V, προεβεβήκει δὲ C, προεβεβήκει δ' ἐς Rk.

Afterwards in the senate he appointed him Caesar A.D. 97 and sent a message to him written with his own hand (Trajan was governor of Germany):

"May the Danaans by thy shafts requite my tears." [1]

Thus Trajan became Caesar and later emperor, although there were relatives of Nerva living. But Nerva did not esteem family relationship above the safety of the State, nor was he less inclined to adopt Trajan because the latter was a Spaniard instead of an Italian or Italiot,[2] inasmuch as no foreigner had previously held the Roman sovereignty; for he believed in looking at a man's ability rather than at his nationality. Soon after this act he passed away, A.D. 98 having ruled one year, four months and nine days; his life prior to that time had comprised sixty-five years, ten months and ten days.

Trajan, before he became emperor, had had a dream of the following nature. He thought that an old man in purple-bordered toga and vesture and with a crown upon his head, as the senate is represented in pictures, impressed a seal upon him with a finger ring, first on the left side of his neck and then on the right. When he became emperor, he sent a letter to the senate, written with his own hand, in which he declared, among other things, that he would not slay nor disfranchise any good man; and he confirmed this by oaths not only at the time but also later.

[1] Homer, *Il.* i. 43.

[2] An Italian was one of the old Italian stock, an Italiot was a resident alien or descendant of foreign colonists in Italy, the name being applied particularly to the Greek stock in Southern Italy.

4 Αἰλιανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τοὺς κατὰ Νέρουα στασιάσαντας, ὡς καὶ χρησόμενός τι αὐτοῖς,[1] μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ ἐποίει πρός τε διόρθωσιν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς χάριν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐκείνων τε διαφερόντως ἐπιμελούμενος, ὡς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν παίδων τροφὴν πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, καὶ τούτους
5 εὐεργετῶν. Πλωτῖνα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐσῄει, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μεταστραφεῖσα εἶπε "τοιαύτη μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἐσέρχομαι οἵα καὶ ἐξελθεῖν βούλομαι." καὶ οὕτω γε ἑαυτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐπηγορίαν σχεῖν.—Xiph. 226, 18–229, 29 R. St.

15, 2 Ὅτι ὁ Τραϊανὸς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ θεάσασθαι ἐποίει.—Exc. U^G 46 (p. 401).

6 Διατρίψας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ χρόνον τινὰ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Δακούς, τά τε πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς λογιζόμενος, τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἃ κατ' ἔτος ἐλάμβανον βαρυνόμενος, τάς τε δυνάμεις αὐτῶν
2 αὐξανομένας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ὁρῶν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Δεκέβαλος[2] τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθη, ἅτε καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι πρότερον μὲν οὐ Ῥωμαίους ἀλλὰ Δομιτιανὸν ἐνενικήκει, τότε δὲ ὡς πρός τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς Τραϊανὸν αὐτοκράτορα πολεμήσοι.

Πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐπί τε δικαιότητι καὶ ἐπ'
3 ἀνδρείᾳ τῇ τε ἁπλότητι τῶν ἠθῶν διέπρεπε.[3] τῷ

[1] αὐτοῖς Sylb., αὐτοὺς VC.
[2] Δεκέβαλος R. Steph., δεκέβανος VC.

He sent for Aelianus and the Praetorians who had mutinied against Nerva, pretending that he was going to employ them for some purpose, and then put them out of the way. When he came to Rome, he did much to reform the administration of affairs and much to please the better element; to the public business he gave unusual attention, making many grants, for example, to the cities in Italy for the support of their children, and upon the good citizens he conferred many favours. When Plotina, his wife, first entered the palace, she turned round so as to face the stairway and the populace and said: "I enter here such a woman as I would fain be when I depart." And she conducted herself during the entire reign in such manner as to incur no censure. A.D. 98 A.D. 99

The ambassadors who came from the various kings were given seats by Trajan in the senatorial section at spectacles.

After spending some time in Rome he made a campaign against the Dacians; for he took into account their past deeds and was grieved at the amount of money they were receiving annually, and he also observed that their power and their pride were increasing. Decebalus, learning of his advance, became frightened, since he well knew that on the former occasion it was not the Romans that he had conquered, but Domitian, whereas now he would be fighting against both Romans and Trajan, the emperor. A.D. 100(?)

Trajan was most conspicuous for his justice, for his bravery, and for the simplicity of his habits. He

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[3] διέπρεπε cod. Peir., διέπρεψε VC.

τε γὰρ σώματι ἔρρωτο (δεύτερον γὰρ καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἄγων ἔτος ἦρξεν) ὡς ἐξ ἴσου πάντα τοῖς ἄλλοις τρόπον τινὰ πονεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἤκμαζεν ὡς μήθ' ὑπὸ νεότητος θρασύνεσθαι μήθ'
4 *ὑπὸ γήρως ἀμβλύνεσθαι. καὶ οὔτ' ἐφθόνει οὔτε καθῄρει τινά, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμεγάλυνε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφοβεῖτό τινα αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐμίσει. διαβολαῖς τε ἥκιστα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ὀργῇ ἥκιστα ἐδουλοῦτο, τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἴσα καὶ φόνων τῶν*
7 *ἀδίκων ἀπείχετο. καὶ ἐδαπάνα πάμπολλα μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους πάμπολλα δὲ ἐς τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔργα, καὶ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν λιμέσι καὶ ἐν οἰκοδομήμασι δημοσίοις κατασκευάσας οὐδενὸς αἷμα ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀνάλω-*
2 *σεν. οὕτως γάρ που καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἔφυ ὥστε καὶ τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐπιγράψαι ὅτι ἐξαρκοῦντα αὐτὸν*[1] *τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ ἐποίησεν, ἐπειδὴ διαφθαρέντα πῃ καὶ μείζω*
3 *καὶ περικαλλέστερον ἐξειργάσατο. φιλούμενός τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τιμώμενος ἔχαιρε, καὶ τῷ τε δήμῳ μετ' ἐπιεικείας συνεγίνετο καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ σεμνοπρεπῶς ὡμίλει, ἀγαπητὸς μὲν πᾶσι, φοβερὸς δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν πολεμίοις ὤν. καὶ γὰρ θήρας καὶ συμποσίων ἔργων τε καὶ βουλευμάτων σκωμμάτων τε συμμετεῖχε σφίσι, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τέταρτος ὠχεῖτο, ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνευ γε φρουρᾶς ἔστιν ὧν ἐσιὼν εὐθυ-*
4 *μεῖτο. παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβοῦς, ὅση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μετέσχε, τό γε μὴν ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ ἠπίστατο καὶ ἐποίει. οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐκ ἄριστον εἶχε.*

[1] *αὐτὸν* H. Steph., *αὐτὸν* VC.

was strong in body, being in his forty-second year A.D. 100 (?)
when he began to rule, so that in every enterprise he toiled almost as much as the others; and his mental powers were at their highest, so that he had neither the recklessness of youth nor the sluggishness of old age. He did not envy nor slay any one, but honoured and exalted all good men without exception, and hence he neither feared nor hated any one of them. To slanders he paid very little heed and he was no slave of anger. He refrained equally from the money of others and from unjust murders. He expended vast sums on wars and vast sums on works of peace; and while making very many urgently needed repairs to roads and harbours and public buildings, he drained no one's blood for any of these undertakings. He was so high-minded and generous that, after enlarging and embellishing the Circus, which had crumbled away in places, he merely inscribed on it a statement that he had made it adequate for the Roman people. For these deeds, now, he took more pleasure in being loved than in being honoured. His association with the people was marked by affability and his intercourse with the senate by dignity, so that he was loved by all and dreaded by none save the enemy. He joined others in the chase and in banquets, as well as in their labours and plans and jests. Often he would take three others into his carriage, and he would enter the houses of citizens, sometimes even without a guard, and enjoy himself there. Education in the strict sense he lacked, when it came to speaking, but its substance he both knew and applied; and there was no quality which he did not possess in a high degree.

καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι καὶ περὶ μειράκια καὶ περὶ οἶνον ἐσπουδάκει. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τι ἐκ τούτων ἢ αἰσχρὸν ἢ κακὸν ἢ ἐδεδράκει ἢ ἐπεπόνθει, ἐπηγορίαν ἂν εἶχε, νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε[1] *οἴνου διακόρως ἔπινε καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἔν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οὐδένα ἐλύπησεν.*
5 *εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε κατορθώσει καὶ τοῦ ἐχθίστου μὲν καθαιρέσει τοῦ οἰκείου δὲ αὐξήσει ἠρκεῖτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξογκοῦσθαί τε καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν, συνέβη ποτὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχε.*—Xiph. 229, 29–231, 2 R. St., Exc. Val. 286 (p. 708), Suid. *s.vv.* *ἀμβλύνω, ἤκμαζεν, καθῄρει, μήθ' ὑπὸ νεότητος, πονεῖσθαι.*

8 *Διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὁ Δεκέβαλος αὐτὸν ἐδεδίει· στρατεύσαντι δὲ τῷ Τραϊανῷ κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν καὶ ταῖς Τάπαις,*[2] *ἔνθα ἐστρατοπέδευον οἱ βάρβαροι, πλησιάσαντι μύκης μέγας προσεκομίσθη,*[3] *γράμμασι Λατίνοις λέγων ὅτι ἄλλοι τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ Βοῦροι*[4] *παραινοῦσι*
2 *Τραϊανῷ ὀπίσω ἀπιέναι καὶ εἰρηνῆσαι. συμβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Τραϊανὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων τραυματίας ἐπεῖδε, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινεν· ὅτε*[5] *καὶ ἐπιλιπόντων τῶν ἐπιδέσμων οὐδὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτος λέγεται φείσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ λαμπάδια ταύτην κατατεμεῖν,*[6] *τοῖς δὲ τελευ-*

[1] *τοῦ τε* H. Steph., *τοῦτο* VC.
[2] Cf. Tzetz. *Chil.* ii. 62 f.: *πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον πεφθακὼς Τραϊανὸς εὐθέως Ῥωμαίους διεπόρθμευσεν ὁλκάσι πρὸς τοὺς Δάκας.*

I know, of course, that he was devoted to boys and to wine, but if he had ever committed or endured any base or wicked deed as the result of this, he would have incurred censure; as it was, however, he drank all the wine he wanted, yet remained sober, and in his relation with boys he harmed no one. And even if he did delight in war, nevertheless he was satisfied when success had been achieved, a most bitter foe overthrown and his countrymen exalted. Nor did the result which usually occurs in such circumstances—conceit and arrogance on the part of the soldiers—ever manifest itself during his reign; with such a firm hand did he rule them. A.D. 100 (?)

For these reasons, then, Decebalus had good cause to fear him. When Trajan in his campaign against the Dacians had drawn near Tapae,[1] where the barbarians were encamped, a large mushroom was brought to him on which was written in Latin characters a message to the effect that the Buri and other allies advised Trajan to turn back and keep the peace. Nevertheless he engaged the foe, and saw many wounded on his own side and killed many of the enemy. And when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips. In A.D. 101–102 (?)

[1] Cf. Tzetzes: And Trajan, having reached the Ister, immediately ferried the Romans across in merchantmen against the Dacians.

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[3] προσεκομίσθη H. Steph., προεκομίσθη VC.
[4] Βοῦροι Dind., βοῦρροι VC.
[5] ὅτε Sylb., ὅτι VC.
[6] κατατεμεῖν H. Steph., from Suidas (αὐτὴν κατέτεμε πᾶσαν), καταδεσμεῖν VC.

τήσασι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ βωμόν τε
στῆσαι καὶ κατ' ἔτος ἐναγίζειν κελεῦσαι.—Xiph.
231, 2–13 R. St.

9 Ὅτι ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπεπόμφει μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῆς
ἥττης πρέσβεις, οὐκέτι τῶν κομητῶν ὥσπερ
πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῶν πιλοφόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους.
2 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τά τε ὅπλα ῥίψαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐς
τὴν γῆν καταβαλόντες ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ καὶ ἐς ὄψιν καὶ
ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν,[1] ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ
κελευσθησόμενα ποιήσοντι, ἐπιτραπῆναι, εἰ δὲ
μή, σταλῆναί γέ τινα τὸν συμβησόμενον αὐτῷ.
καὶ ἐπέμφθη ὁ Σούρας καὶ Κλαύδιος Λιουιανὸς[2]
3 ὁ ἔπαρχος. ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδέν· ὁ γὰρ Δεκέβαλος
οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐτόλμησε συμμῖξαι, ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ
τότε. ὁ δὲ Τραϊανὸς ὄρη τε ἐντετειχισμένα ἔλαβε,
καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τά τε ὅπλα τά τε μηχανήματα τὰ
αἰχμάλωτα τό τε σημεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φούσκου
4 ἁλὸν εὗρε. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος, ἄλλως τε

8, 3 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ[3] ἄκρα ἐπεχείρησε ἀναβῆναι, λόφους ἐκ λόφων μετὰ κινδύνων καταλαμβάνων, καὶ τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν βασιλείοις ἐπέλασεν, ὅ τε Λούσιος[4] ἑτέρωθι προσβαλὼν καὶ

[1] Cf. Petr. Patr. *exc. de leg.*[G] 4 (Hoesch. p. 15=fr. 5 Muell. *Fragm. hist. Graec.* 4 pp. 185 sq.): ὅτι Δεκέβαλος πρὸς Τραϊανὸν πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε πιλοφόρους· οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τιμιώτεροι. πρότερον γὰρ κομήτας ἔπεμπε, εὐτελεστέρους δοκοῦντας παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἔρριψαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὄπισθεν δήσαντες ἐν αἰχμαλώτων τάξει ἐδέοντο τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Δεκεβάλου.

[2] Λιουιανὸς Bk., λιβιανὸς AB, λιβανὸς M.

honour of the soldiers who had died in the battle he ordered an altar to be erected and funeral rites to be performed annually. A.D. 102

Decebalus had sent envoys even before his defeat, not the long-haired men this time, as before, but the noblest among the cap-wearers.[1] These threw down their arms, and casting themselves upon the ground, begged Trajan that, if possible, Decebalus himself should be permitted to meet and confer with him, promising that he would do everything that was commanded; or, if not, that someone at least should be sent to agree upon terms with him. Those sent were Sura and Claudius Livianus, the prefect; but nothing was accomplished, since Decebalus did not dare to meet them either, but sent envoys also on this occasion. Trajan seized some fortified mountains and on them found the arms and the captured engines, as well as the standard which had been taken in the time of Fuscus. Decebalus, because

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But when he undertook to ascend the heights themselves, captured one crest after another amid dangers and approached the capital of the Dacians, while Lusius, attacking in another quarter, slew great

[1] Cf. Petrus Patricius: Decebalus sent cap-wearers as envoys to Trajan; for these are the more honourable men among them. Previously he had been sending long-haired men, who are held of less repute among them. When these latest envoys came to Trajan, they threw down their arms, and binding their hands behind their backs after the manner of captives, they begged Trajan to hold a conference with Decebalus.

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[3] τὰ Sylb., τὰ ἐπ' VC.
[4] Λούσιος H. Steph., λούκιος VC.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μάξιμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τήν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρίον τι ἰσχυρὸν εἷλεν,[1] *οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἑτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων*[2] *ἔσχε συνθέσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐμμενεῖν*[3] *αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν,*
5 *ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναπνεύσῃ. τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τούς τε μηχανοποιοὺς παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι, τά τε ἐρύματα καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαλωκυίας ἀποστῆναι, καὶ προσέτι τούς τε αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ*
6 *φίλους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νομίζειν, καὶ μήτ' αὐτόμολόν*[4] *τινα ὑποδέχεσθαι μήτε στρατιώτῃ τινὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς χρῆσθαι (τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους τούς τε ἀρίστους ἐκεῖθεν ἀναπείθων προσεποιεῖτο) καὶ ἄκων ὡμολόγησε, πρός τε τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν*[5]
7 *καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπορρίψας. καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιώσηται. ταῦτα*

ἐφόνευσε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐζώγρησε πλείονας, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος πρέσβεις πέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πιλοφόρων καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δεηθείς, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἑτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων[6] *ἔσχε συνθέσθαι.*—Xiphilinus (231, 13–16 R. St.), who gives this in place of ch. 9, §§ 1–4.

[1] *εἷλεν* Reim., *εἶχεν* ABM.
[2] *προσταχθέντων* Reim., *προταθέντων* ABM.
[3] *ἐμμενεῖν* Bk., *ἐμμένειν* ABM.
[4] *αὐτόμολον* Petr. Patricius, *αὐτὸν ὅλως* ABM.

of this, coupled with the fact that Maximus had at A.D. 102
this same time captured his sister and also a strong position, was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made—not that he intended to abide by his agreement, but in order that he might secure a respite from his temporary reverses. So he reluctantly engaged to surrender his arms, engines and engine-makers, to give back the deserters, to demolish the forts, to withdraw from captured territory, and furthermore to consider the same persons enemies and friends as the Romans did, and neither to give shelter to any of the deserters nor to employ any soldier from the Roman empire; for he had been acquiring the largest and best part of his force by persuading men to come to him from Roman territory. This was after he had come to Trajan, fallen upon the ground and done obeisance and thrown away his arms. He also sent envoys in the matter to the senate, in order that he might secure the ratification of the peace by that body.

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numbers and captured still more alive, then Decebalus sent as envoys the noblest of the cap-wearers and through them besought the emperor; he was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made.[1]

[1] This account is given by Xiphilinus immediately after ch. 8, 2, where, indeed, most editors have placed it. But the achievements of Trajan here recorded seem to fix its place between § 3 and § 4, and Boissevain so prints it. In this brief account Xiphilinus mentions the cap-wearers out of their proper place.

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[5] αὐτὸν ABM, αὐτῷ VC Zon.
[6] προσταχθέντων R. Steph., προταχθέντων V, προταθέντων C.

συνθέμενος καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγεθούσῃ[1] *καταλιπών, τήν τε ἄλλην χώραν φρουραῖς διαλαβών, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνεκομίσθη.*—Exc. U^{G} 47 (p. 401), Xiph. 231, 16–24 R. St.

10 *Καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσήχθησαν, τά τε ὅπλα καταθέντες συνῆψαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αἰχμαλώτων*[2] *σχήματι καὶ εἶπόν τέ τινα καὶ ἱκέτευσαν, καὶ οὕτω τήν τε εἰρήνην ἐσπείσαντο καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπέλαβον.*
2 *Τραϊανὸς δὲ τά τε νικητήρια ἤγαγε καὶ Δακικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη, ἔν τε τῷ θεάτρῳ μονομάχους συνέβαλε (καὶ γὰρ ἔχαιρεν αὐτοῖς), καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπανήγαγε (καὶ γὰρ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἤρα), οὐ μέντοι, οἷα πολεμικὸς ἀνήρ, τἆλλα ἧττον διῆγεν ἢ καὶ ἧττον ἐδίκαζεν, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, τοτὲ δ' ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Λιουίᾳ ὠνομασμένῃ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ βήματος.*—Xiph. 231, 24–232, 2 R. St., Exc. Val. 287 (p. 708).
3 *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δεκέβαλος πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ ποιῶν, καὶ ὅπλα τε κατεσκευάζετο, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο, τά τε ἐρύματα ἐπεσκεύαζε, παρά τε τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τοῖς τἀναντία οἱ φρονήσασι πρότερον ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ τῶν Ἰαζύγων καὶ χώραν τινὰ ἀπετέμετο (ἣν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαιτήσασιν αὐτοῖς Τραϊανὸς οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν),*
4 *οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὖθις πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ ὁ Τραϊανὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὖθις, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑτέρων στρατηγῶν, τὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἐποιήσατο.*—Xiph. 232, 2–10 R. St.

After concluding this compact the emperor left the camp at Zermizegethusa, and having stationed garrisons here and there throughout the remainder of the territory, returned to Italy. A.D. 102

The envoys from Decebalus, upon being brought into the senate, laid down their arms, clasped their hands in the attitude of captives, and spoke some words of supplication; thus they obtained peace and received back their arms. Trajan celebrated a triumph and was given the title of Dacicus; in the theatre he held contests of gladiators, in whom he delighted, and he brought the dancers of pantomimes back into the theatre, being enamoured of Pylades, one of their number. He did not, however, as might have been expected of a warlike man, pay any less attention to the civil administration nor did he dispense justice any the less; on the contrary, he conducted trials, now in the Forum of Augustus, now in the Portico of Livia, as it was called, and often elsewhere on a tribunal. A.D. 103

Inasmuch as Decebalus was reported to him to be acting contrary to the treaty in many ways, was collecting arms, receiving those who deserted, repairing the forts, sending envoys to his neighbours and injuring those who had previously differed with him, even going so far as to annex a portion of the territory of the Iazyges (which Trajan later would not give back to them when they asked for it), therefore the senate again declared him an enemy, and Trajan once more conducted the war against him in person instead of entrusting it to others. A.D. 104

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[1] Ζερμιζεγεθούσῃ Leuncl., ζερμιγεζεθούσῃ AB, ζερμιγεθούσῃ M.

[2] αἰχμαλώτων Zon., αἰχμαλώτου VC.

11 Ὅτι τῶν Δακῶν συχνῶν μεθισταμένων πρὸς Τραϊανόν, καὶ δι' ἄλλα τινά, ἐδεήθη αὖθις ὁ Δεκέβαλος εἰρήνης. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείσθη τά τε ὅπλα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραδοῦναι, τὰς δυνάμεις φανερῶς ἤθροιζε καὶ τοὺς περιχώρους προσ-
2 παρεκάλει, λέγων ὅτι ἐὰν αὐτὸν[1] προῶνται καὶ αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσουσι,[2] καὶ ὅτι ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ῥᾷον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, πρίν τι κακὸν παθεῖν, ἀγωνισάμενοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξουσιν ἢ ἂν σφᾶς τε ἀπολλυμένους περιίδωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὕστερον, ἐρημωθέντες τῶν συμμάχων χειρωθῶσιν.[3]—Exc. U^G 48 (p. 402).
3 Καὶ ὁ Δεκέβαλος κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν κακῶς ἔπραττε, δόλῳ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν αὐτομόλους τινάς, εἴ πως αὐτὸν εὐπρόσοδον ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν πάντα ἁπλῶς τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς λόγους δεχόμενον κατεργάσαιντο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν[4] πρᾶξαι, συλληφθέντος τινὸς ἐξ ὑποψίας καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ βασά-
12 νων ὁμολογήσαντος· Λογγῖνον δέ τινα στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἐξηγούμενον καὶ δεινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις[5] αὐτῷ γεγενημένον προσκαλεσάμενος, καὶ ἀναπείσας συμμῖξαί οἱ ὡς καὶ τὰ προσταχθησόμενα ποιήσων, συνέλαβε καὶ ἀνέκρινε δημοσίᾳ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ βουλευμάτων, ἐπειδή τε μηδὲν ὁμολογῆσαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐν ἀδέσμῳ
2 φυλακῇ περιῆγε.[6] καὶ πρέσβιν τινὰ πέμψας

[1] αὐτὸν Urs., αὐτῶν MSS.
[2] κινδυνεύσουσι Urs., κινδυνεύουσι MSS.
[3] χειρωθῶσιν St., ὠθῶσιν MSS.

As numerous Dacians kept transferring their allegiance to Trajan, and also for certain other reasons, Decebalus again sued for peace. But since he could not be persuaded to surrender both his arms and himself, he proceeded openly to collect troops and summon the surrounding nations to his aid, declaring that if they deserted him they themselves would be imperilled, and that it was safer and easier for them, by fighting on his side before suffering any harm, to preserve their freedom, than if they should allow his people to be destroyed and then later be subjugated themselves when bereft of allies. A.D. 104

Though Decebalus was faring badly in open conflict, nevertheless by craft and deceit he almost compassed Trajan's death. He sent into Moesia some deserters to see if they could make away with him, inasmuch as the emperor was generally accessible and now, on account of the exigencies of warfare, admitted to a conference absolutely every one who desired it. But they were not able to carry out this plan, since one of them was arrested on suspicion and under torture revealed the entire plot. Decebalus then sent an invitation to Longinus, a leader of the Roman army who had made himself a terror to the king in the wars, and persuaded him to meet him, on the pretext that he would do whatever should be demanded. He then arrested him and questioned him publicly about Trajan's plans, and when Longinus refused to admit anything, he took him about with him under guard, though not in bonds. And sending an envoy to Trajan, he

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[4] ἠδυνήθησαν Zon., ἠβουλήθησαν VC.
[5] πολέμοις Leuncl., πολεμίοις VC.
[6] περιῆγε Anon., περιεῖπε VC.

*πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἠξίου τήν τε χώραν μέχρι
τοῦ Ἴστρου κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα
ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδεδαπανήκει, ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ
τὸν Λογγῖνόν οἱ ἀποδοῦναι. ἀποκριναμένου δέ
τινα αὐτῷ*[1] *μέσα, ἐξ ὧν οὔτε ἐν μεγάλῳ οὔτε
ἐν σμικρῷ λόγῳ τὸν Λογγῖνον ποιεῖσθαι δόξειν
3 ἔμελλε, τοῦ μήτ' ἀπολέσθαι αὐτὸν μήτ' ἐπὶ
πολλῷ σφίσιν ἀνασωθῆναι, Δεκέβαλος μὲν ἔτι
διασκοπῶν ὅ τι πράξῃ ἀνεῖχε, Λογγῖνος δὲ ἐν
τούτῳ φαρμάκου διὰ τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου εὐπορήσας
ὑπέσχετό τε αὐτῷ τὸν Τραϊανὸν καταλλάξειν,
ἵνα ὡς ἥκιστα ὑποτοπήσῃ τὸ γενησόμενον, μὴ
καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσηται, καὶ
γράμματά τινα ἱκετείαν ἔχοντα γράψας ἔδωκε
τῷ ἐξελευθέρῳ πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἀποκομίσαι,
4 ἵν' ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται. καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθόντος
αὐτοῦ τὸ φάρμακον νυκτὸς ἔπιε καὶ ἀπέθανε.
γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐξήτησε παρὰ
τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ
Λογγίνου καὶ δέκα αἰχμαλώτους ἀντιδώσειν οἱ
ὑποσχόμενος, καὶ εὐθύς*[2] *γε τὸν ἑκατοντάρχην
τὸν ἁλόντα μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ὡς καὶ ταῦτα
5 διαπράξοντα· παρ' οὗ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λογγῖνον
ἐγνώσθη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐκεῖνον ὁ Τραϊανὸς
ἀπέπεμψεν οὔτε τὸν ἐξελεύθερον ἐξέδωκε, προ-
τιμοτέραν τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀξίωμα τῆς τοῦ Λογγίνου ταφῆς ποιησάμενος.—*
Xiph. 232, 10–28 R. St., Exc. U^G 49 (p. 402 sq.).
13 *Τραϊανὸς δὲ γέφυραν λιθίνην ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου
κατεσκευάσατο, περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἂν ἀξίως*

[1] *αὐτῷ* ABM, *αὐτῷ τοῦ τραϊανοῦ* VC.

asked that he might receive back his territory as far as the Ister and be indemnified for all the money he had spent on the war, in return for restoring Longinus to him. An ambiguous answer was returned, of such a nature as not to cause Decebalus to believe that Trajan regarded Longinus as either of great importance or yet of slight importance, the object being to prevent his being destroyed, on the one hand, or being preserved to them on excessive terms, on the other. So Decebalus delayed, still considering what he should do. In the meantime Longinus, having secured poison with the aid of the freedman, promised Decebalus to win Trajan over, hoping the king would thus have no suspicion of what he was going to do and so would not keep a very strict watch over him; also, in order to enable the freedman to gain safety, he wrote a letter containing a petition in his behalf and gave it to him to carry to Trajan. Then, when the other had gone, he drank the poison at night and died. Thereupon Decebalus demanded the freedman from Trajan, promising to give him in return the body of Longinus and ten captives. He at once sent the centurion who had been captured with Longinus, in order that he might arrange the matter; and it was from the centurion that the whole story of Longinus was learned. However, Trajan neither sent him back nor surrendered the freedman, deeming his safety more important for the dignity of the empire than the burial of Longinus. A.D. 104

Trajan constructed over the Ister a stone bridge for which I cannot sufficiently admire him. Brilliant,

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[2] εὐθὺς Dind., εὐθὺ ABM.

αὐτὸν θαυμάσω· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τἆλλα αὐτοῦ
ἔργα διαπρεπέστατα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνα.
ὡς γὰρ[1] κρηπῖδές εἰσι λίθου τετραπέδου εἴκοσι,
τὸ μὲν ὕψος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ποδῶν πλὴν
2 τῶν θεμελίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἑξήκοντα· καὶ αὗται[2]
ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πόδας
ἀπέχουσαι ἁψῖσι συνῳκοδόμηνται. πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις
τὸ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐς αὐτὰς δαπανηθὲν θαυμάσειε;
πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν[3] τὸν τρόπον ὃν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔν
τε ποταμῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἐν ὕδατι δινώδει δαπέδῳ
τε ἰλυώδει ἐγένετο; οὐ γάρ τοι[4] καὶ παρατρέψαι[5]
3 ποι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἠδυνήθη. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλάτος τοῦ
ποταμοῦ εἶπον οὐχ ὅτι διὰ τοσούτου ῥεῖ (καὶ
γὰρ ἐπὶ διπλάσιον ἔστιν οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τριπλάσιον
αὐτοῦ πελαγίζει), ἀλλ' ὅτι τό τε στενώτατον καὶ
τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τὸ γεφυρωθῆναι τῶν ἐκείνῃ
4 χωρίων τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν. ὅσῳ δὲ δὴ ἐς στενὸν
ταύτῃ ἐκ πελάγους μεγάλου καταβαίνων καὶ ἐς
πέλαγος αὖθις μεῖζον προχωρῶν κατακλείεται,
τόσῳ που καὶ ῥοωδέστατος καὶ βαθύτατος γίγνε-
ται, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς
5 κατασκευῆς τῆς γεφύρας τεῖναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν με-
γαλόνοια τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τούτων δείκνυται·
οὐ μέντοι καὶ[6] ὠφέλειάν τινα ἡμῖν ἡ γέφυρα
παρέχεται, ἀλλ' ἑστᾶσιν αἱ κρηπῖδες ἄλλως,
δίοδον οὐκ ἔχουσαι, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ
μόνον γενόμεναι ἵν' ἐπιδείξωσι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
φύσιν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ δυναμένην ἐξεργάσασθαι.
6 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τραϊανὸς δείσας μή ποτε παγέντος

[1] ὡς γὰρ corrupt. Bs. proposes ᾧ γε, ᾧ γ' αἱ or ἧς γε, or else ᾧ γὰρ with comma after συνῳκοδόμηνται.
[2] αὗται Bk., αὐταὶ VC.

indeed, as are his other achievements, yet this surpasses them. For it has twenty piers of squared stone one hundred and fifty feet in height above the foundations and sixty in width, and these, standing at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet from one another, are connected by arches. How, then, could one fail to be astonished at the expenditure made upon them, or at the way in which each of them was placed in a river so deep, in water so full of eddies, and on a bottom so muddy? For it was impossible, of course, to divert the stream anywhere. I have spoken of the width of the river; but the stream is not uniformly so narrow, since it covers in some places twice, and in others thrice as much ground, but the narrowest point and the one in that region best suited to building a bridge has the width named. Yet the very fact that the river in its descent is here contracted from a great flood to such a narrow channel, after which it again expands into a greater flood, makes it all the more violent and deep, and this feature must be considered in estimating the difficulty of constructing the bridge. This too, then, is one of the achievements that show the magnitude of Trajan's designs, though the bridge is of no use to us; for merely the piers are standing, affording no means of crossing, as if they had been erected for the sole purpose of demonstrating that there is nothing which human ingenuity cannot accomplish. Trajan built the bridge because he feared that some time when A.D. 104

[3] ἂν Bk., ἄν τις VC.
[4] τοι Rk., τι VC.
[5] παρατρέψαι Sylb., περιτρέψαι VC.
[6] καὶ Sylb., καὶ εἰ VC.

τοῦ Ἴστρου πόλεμος τοῖς πέραν Ῥωμαίοις γένηται, ἐποίησε τὴν γέφυραν ἵνα αἱ ἐπιβασίαι ῥᾳδίως δι' αὐτῆς διεξίωσιν· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τοὐναντίον φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτῆς βιαζομένοις ῥᾳδία διάβασις ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν ᾖ, ἀφεῖλε τὴν ἐπιπολῆς κατασκευήν.

14 Τραϊανὸς δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γεφύρας τὸν Ἴστρον περαιωθείς, καὶ δι' ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ σπουδῆς τὸν πόλεμον ποιούμενος, σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἐκράτησε τῶν Δακῶν, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς στρατηγίας ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῷ κινδυνευ-
2 σάντων καὶ ἀριστευσάντων. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἱππεύς τις κακῶς πληγεὶς ἐξήχθη μὲν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς καὶ θεραπευθῆναι δυνάμενος, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὡς ἀνιάτως ἔχοι ἔκ τε τοῦ σκηνώματος ἐξεπήδησεν (οὐ γάρ πω[1] τὸ κακὸν αὐτοῦ καθῖκτο) καὶ ἐς τάξιν αὖθις καθιστὰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέθανε, μεγάλα
3 ἐπιδειξάμενος. Δεκέβαλος δέ, ὡς καὶ τὸ βασίλειον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χώρα κατείληπτο σύμπασα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκινδύνευεν ἁλῶναι, διεχρήσατο ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπεκομίσθη· καὶ οὕτως ἡ Δακία Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοος ἐγένετο,
4 καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Τραϊανὸς κατῴκισεν. εὑρέθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου θησαυροί, καίτοι ὑπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σαργετίαν τὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ κεκρυμμένοι. διὰ γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τινῶν τόν τε ποταμὸν ἐξέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος αὐτοῦ ὤρυξε, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ πολὺν μὲν ἄργυρον πολὺν δὲ χρυσόν, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ ὑγρότητά τινα ἐνεγκεῖν δυνάμενα,

[1] πω Bk., που VC.

the Ister was frozen over war might be made A.D. 104
upon the Romans on the further side, and he wished to facilitate access to them by this means. Hadrian, on the contrary, was afraid that it might also make it easy for the barbarians, once they had overpowered the guard at the bridge, to cross into Moesia, and so he removed the superstructure.

Trajan, having crossed the Ister by means of this A.D. 105
bridge, conducted the war with safe prudence rather than with haste, and eventually, after a hard struggle, vanquished the Dacians. In the course of the campaign he himself performed many deeds of good generalship and bravery, and his troops ran many risks and displayed great prowess on his behalf. It was here that a certain horseman, after being carried, badly wounded, from the battle in the hope that he could be healed, when he found that he could not recover, rushed from his tent (for his injury had not yet reached his heart) and, taking his place once more in the line, perished after displaying great
feats of valour. Decebalus, when his capital and A.D. 106
all his territory had been occupied and he was himself in danger of being captured, committed suicide; and his head was brought to Rome. In this way Dacia became subject to the Romans, and Trajan founded cities there. The treasures of Decebalus were also discovered, though hidden beneath the river Sargetia, which ran past his palace. With the help of some captives Decebalus had diverted the course of the river, made an excavation in its bed, and into the cavity had thrown a large amount of silver and gold and other objects of great value that could stand a certain amount of moisture; then

ἐμβαλὼν λίθους τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε καὶ χοῦν ἐπεφόρησε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπήγαγε· καὶ ἐς τὰ σπήλαια διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τά τε ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὁμοιότροπα κατέθετο. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα διέφθειρεν αὐτούς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκλαλήσωσι. Βίκιλις δέ τις ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ, τὸ γεγονὸς εἰδώς, ἑάλω τε καὶ κατεμήνυσε ταῦτα.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο.—Xiph. 232, 28–234, 16 R. St.

Πρὸς δὲ[1] *τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντα πλεῖσται ὅσαι πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ θέας ἐν τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν, ἐν αἷς θηρία τε καὶ βοτὰ χίλιά που καὶ μύρια*[2] *ἐσφάγη καὶ μονομάχοι μύριοι ἠγωνίσαντο.*—Xiph. 234, 16–20 R. St., Exc. U^{G} 50 (p. 403).

3^{1} *Καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τά τε ἕλη τὰ Πομπτῖνα*[3] *ὡδοποίησε λίθῳ, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς παροικοδομήμασι*[4] *καὶ γεφύραις μεγαλοπρεπεστάταις ἐξεποίησε. τό τε νόμισμα πᾶν τὸ ἐξίτηλον συνεχώνευσε.*[5]—Xiph. 234, 20–22 R. St.

5, 3 *Ὅτι οὗτος ὤμοσεν ὡς οὐ μιαιφονήσει, καὶ τοῦτο ἔργῳ ἐνεπέδωσε καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθείς. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐδὲν οὔτε διπλοῦν οὔτε δόλιον οὔτε τραχὺ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ἐφίλει καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ ἐτίμα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἠμέλει· τὸ*[6] *δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας πεπαίτερος ἐγεγόνει.*—Exc. Val. 288 (p. 710).

[1] *πρὸς δὲ* H. Steph., *παρὰ* VC, *πρὸς* ABM.
[2] *μύρια* Reim., *μυριά που* VC.

he had heaped stones over them and piled on earth, afterwards bringing the river back into its course. He also had caused the same captives to deposit his robes and other articles of a like nature in caves, and after accomplishing this had made away with them to prevent them from disclosing anything. But Bicilis, a companion of his who knew what had been done, was seized and gave information about these things. A.D. 106

About this same time, Palma, the governor of Syria, subdued the part of Arabia around Petra[1] and made it subject to the Romans.

Upon Trajan's return to Rome ever so many embassies came to him from various barbarians, including the Indi. And he gave spectacles on one hundred and twenty-three days, in the course of which some eleven thousand animals, both wild and tame, were slain, and ten thousand gladiators fought. A.D. 107

At this same period he built a road of stone through the Pontine marshes and provided the roads with most magnificent buildings[2] and bridges. He also caused all the money that was badly worn to be melted down. A.D. 110

He had taken an oath that he would not shed blood and he made good his promise by his deeds in spite of plots formed against him. For by nature he was not at all inclined to duplicity or guile or harshness, but he loved, greeted and honoured the good, and the others he ignored; moreover, he had become milder as the result of age.

[1] Arabia Petraea. [2] Probably he means taverns.

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[3] Πομπτῖνα Bs., ποντικὰ VC.
[4] παροικοδομήμασι Rk., παροικοδομήσας VC.
[5] συνεχώνευσε Sylb., ἐξεχώνευσε VC.
[6] τὸ Bk., ὁ cod. Peir.

15, 3[2] Τῷ δὲ Σούρᾳ[1] τῷ Λικινίῳ καὶ ταφὴν δημοσίαν
καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἔδωκε τελευτήσαντι· ὅστις ἐς τοῦτο
καὶ πλούτου καὶ αὐχήματος ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ
4 γυμνάσιον Ῥωμαίοις οἰκοδομῆσαι. τοσαύτῃ δὲ
φιλίᾳ καὶ πίστει ὅ τε[2] Σούρας πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν
ἐχρήσατο καὶ Τραϊανὸς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὥστε πολ-
λάκις αὐτόν, οἷά που περὶ πάντας τούς τι παρὰ
τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι δυναμένους γίνεσθαι πέφυκε,
διαβληθέντα οὔτε ὑπώπτευσέ ποτε οὔτε ἐμίσησεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ[3] ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν φθο-
5 νούντων αὐτῷ οἴκαδέ τε ἄκλητος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
δεῖπνον ἦλθε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν φρουρὰν ἀποπέμψας
ἐκάλεσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἰατρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι'
ἐκείνου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπηλείψατο, ἔπειτα τὸν
κουρέα, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τὸ γένειον ἐξύρατο (τοῦτο
γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ
αὐτοκράτορες ἐποίουν· Ἁδριανὸς γὰρ πρῶτος
6 γενειᾶν κατέδειξε)· πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ δειπνήσας, ἔπειτα τοῖς
φίλοις τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἀεί τι περὶ αὐτοῦ φαῦλον
λέγειν ἔφη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὅτι "εἰ ἤθελέ με Σούρας[4]
16 ἀποκτεῖναι, χθὲς ἂν ἀπεκτόνει." μέγα μὲν οὖν
ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι[5] πρὸς διαβε-
βλημένον ἄνθρωπον, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μεῖζον ὅτι
ἐπίστευσε μηδὲν ἂν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν.
1[a] οὕτως ἄρα τὸ πιστὸν τῆς γνώμης ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ
συνῄδει πεπραγότι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἕτεροι ἐδό-
ξαζον ἐβεβαιοῦτο.[6]—Xiph. 234, 22–235, 6 R. St.,
Exc. Val. 289 (p. 710), Joann. Antioch. fr. 112
Muell. (v. 14–16).

[1] Σούρᾳ Reim., σούρρᾳ VC.
[2] τε supplied by Bk.

When Licinius Sura died, Trajan bestowed upon him a public funeral and a statue. This man had attained to such a degree of wealth and pride that he had built a gymnasium for the Romans; yet so great was the friendship and confidence which he showed toward Trajan and Trajan toward him, that, although he was often slandered,—as naturally happens in the case of all those who possess any influence with the emperors,—Trajan never felt any suspicion or hatred toward him. On the contrary, when those who envied Sura became very insistent, the emperor went uninvited to his house to dinner, and having dismissed his whole body-guard, he first called Sura's physician and caused him to anoint his eyes, and then his barber, whom he caused to shave his chin (for the emperors themselves as well as all the rest used to follow this ancient practice; it was Hadrian who first set the fashion of wearing a beard); and after doing all this, he next took a bath and had dinner. Then on the following day he said to his friends who were in the habit of constantly making disparaging remarks about Sura: "If Sura had desired to kill me, he would have killed me yesterday." Now he did a fine thing in running this risk in the case of a man who had been calumniated, but a much finer thing still in believing that he never should be harmed by him. Thus it was that the confidence of his conviction was strengthened by his personal knowledge of Sura's conduct rather than by the conjectures of others. A.D. 110

[3] ἐγκειμένων οἱ Val., ἐγκημένω νῦν cod. Peir.
[4] Σούρας cod. Peir., σούρρας VC.
[5] ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι cod. Peir., διακινδυνεῦσαι VC.
[6] οὕτως—ἐβεβαιοῦτο Antioch., om. Xiph. cod. Peir.

1[2] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον τῷ μέλλοντι τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπάρξειν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραζώννυσθαι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ὤρεξεν, ἐγύμνωσέ τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἔφη "λαβὲ τοῦτο τὸ ξίφος, ἵνα, ἂν μὲν καλῶς ἄρχω, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, κατ' ἐμοῦ αὐτῷ χρήσῃ."

2 Ἔστησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου[1] εἰκόνας· οὕτω που αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄλλων προετίμησε. τοὺς μέντοι ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κράσσος, ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἐσάγων ἐς τὴν βουλήν.

3 Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας. καὶ ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου· παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδινὴν κατεσκεύασε.

17 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Ἀρμενίους καὶ Πάρθους, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ τὸ διάδημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰλήφει, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεύς, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ δόξης ἐπιθυμίᾳ.—Xiph. 235, 6–20 R. St.

2 Ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύσαντος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφικομένου πρεσβεία αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ Ὀρρόου[2] ἐνέτυχε, τῆς εἰρήνης δεομένη καὶ δῶρα φέρουσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔγνω τήν τε ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἀπειλὰς

[1] Κέλσου R. Steph., κάλσου VC.

[2] Ὀρρόου A, ὀρρόνου B, ὀρρόντου M; cf. ch. 19, 4 ὀρρόου ABM; ch. 22, 1 ὀρρόην B, ὀσρόην AM.

Indeed, when he first handed to the man[1] who was to be prefect of the Praetorians the sword which this official was required to wear at his side, he bared the blade and holding it up said: "Take this sword, in order that, if I rule well, you may use it for me, but if ill, against me." A.D. 110

He also set up images of Sosius, Palma and Celsus,[2] so greatly did he esteem them above the rest. Those, however, who conspired against him, among them Crassus, he brought before the senate and caused them to be punished.

He also built libraries. And he set up in the Forum[3] an enormous column, to serve at once as a monument to himself and as a memorial of his work in the Forum. For that entire section had been hilly and he had cut it down for a distance equal to the height of the column, thus making the Forum level. A.D. 112

Next he made a campaign against the Armenians and Parthians on the pretext that the Armenian king[4] had obtained his diadem, not at his hands, but from the Parthian king,[5] though his real reason was a desire to win renown.

When Trajan had set out against the Parthians and had got as far as Athens, an embassy from Osroes met him, asking for peace and proffering gifts. For upon learning of his advance the king had become terrified, because Trajan was wont to make good his threats by his deeds. Accordingly, A.D. 113

[1] Saburanus (?)
[2] L. Publilius Celsus.
[3] The Forum of Trajan.
[4] Exedares.
[5] Osroes (Chosroes).

ἐτεκμηρίου, κατέδεισε, καὶ ὑφεὶς τοῦ φρονήματος ἔπεμψεν ἱκετεύων μὴ πολεμηθῆναι, τήν τε Ἀρμενίαν Παρθαμασίριδι Πακόρου καὶ αὐτῷ υἱεῖ ᾔτει, καὶ ἐδεῖτο τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ πεμφθῆναι·
3 τὸν γὰρ Ἐξηδάρην ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τοῖς Πάρθοις ὄντα πεπαυκέναι ἔλεγεν.[1] καὶ ὃς οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβεν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ἀπεκρίνατο ἢ καὶ ἐπέστειλε[2] πλὴν ὅτι ἡ φιλία ἔργοις καὶ οὐ λόγοις κρίνεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ', ἐπειδὰν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἔλθῃ, πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιήσει. καὶ οὕτω διανοίας ὢν διά[3] τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ διὰ Λυκίας τῶν τε ἐχομένων ἐθνῶν
18 ἐς Σελεύκειαν ἐκομίσθη. γενομένῳ[4] δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Αὔγαρος[5] ὁ Ὀρροηνὸς[6] αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ὤφθη, δῶρα δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγους φιλίους ἔπεμψεν· ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους φοβούμενος ἐπημφοτέριζε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἠθέλησέν οἱ συμμῖξαι.—Exc. U^G 51 (p. 403 sq.), Suid. *s.vv.* τεκμήριον, ὑφείς.

32, 4 Ὅτι Κυῆτος[7] Λούσιος Μαῦρος[8] μὲν ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν Μαύρων ἄρχων ὢν[9] καὶ ἐν ἱππεῦσιν ἰληγὸς[10] ἐξήταστο, καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ ἠτιμώθη, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Δακικοῦ πολέμου ἐνστάντος καὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ[11] τῆς τῶν Μαύρων συμμαχίας
5 δεηθέντος ἦλθέ τε πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδείξατο. τιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ

[1] ἔλεγεν Leuncl., ἐλέγετο MSS.
[2] ἐπέστειλε Leuncl., ἀπέστειλε MSS.
[3] διά—διὰ Rk., ἐπί—ἐπὶ VC.
[4] γενομένῳ Urs., γενομένων MSS.
[5] Αὔγαρος Urs., ἄλβαρος MSS.
[6] Ὀρροηνὸς Dind., ὀσροηνὸς AM, ὀσροήνης B.

he humbled his pride and sent to implore him not A.D. 113
to make war upon him, and at the same time he asked that Armenia be given to Parthamasiris, who was likewise a son of Pacorus, and requested that the diadem be sent to him; for he had deposed Exedares, he said, inasmuch as he had been satisfactory neither to the Romans nor to the Parthians. The emperor neither accepted the gifts nor returned any answer, either oral or written, save the statement that friendship is determined by deeds and not by words, and that accordingly when he should reach Syria he would do all that was proper. And being of this mind, he proceeded through Asia, Lycia and the adjoining provinces to Seleucia. Upon his arrival in Antioch, Abgarus of Osroene sent gifts and a message of friendship, though he did not appear in person; for, as he dreaded both Trajan and the Parthians alike, he was trying to be neutral and for that reason would not come to confer with him.

Lusius Quietus was a Moor and likewise ranked as a leader of the Moors and as commander of a troop in the cavalry; but, having been condemned for base conduct, he had been dismissed from the service at the time and disgraced. Later, however, when the Dacian war came on and Trajan needed the assistance of the Moors, he came to him of his own accord and displayed great deeds of prowess.

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7 Κυῆτος Val. (in transl.), *κύντος* cod. Peir.

8 Μαῦρος Val., *μαῦρον* cod. Peir.

9 ὢν supplied by Capps.

10 ἰληγὸς Capps, ἴλης cod.

11 Τραϊανοῦ Bk., *στρ* (with superscript α) cod. Peir.

τούτῳ πολὺ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ πολέμῳ ἐξειργάσατο, καὶ τέλος ἐς τοσοῦτον τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ προεχώρησεν ὥστε ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσγραφῆναι καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξαι· ἐξ ὧν που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐφθονήθη καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ ἀπώλετο.—Exc. Val. 290 (p. 710).

18, 2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἀπήντων αὐτῷ οἱ τῇδε σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς μετὰ δώρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἵππος ἦν δεδιδαγμένος προσκυνεῖν· τοῖς τε γὰρ[1] ποσὶ τοῖς προσθίοις ὤκλαζε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς τοῦ πέλας πόδας ὑπετίθει. —Xiph. 235, 20–24 R. St.

19 Ὅτι ὁ Παρθαμάσιρις βίαιόν τι ἐποίησε. γράψας δὲ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῷ Τραϊανῷ ὡς βασιλεύς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀντεγράφη, ἐπέστειλέ[2] τε αὖθις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο περικόψας, καὶ ᾔτησε Μᾶρκον Ἰούνιον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντα πεμφθῆναί
2 οἱ ὡς καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τι αἰτησόμενος. ὁ οὖν Τραϊανὸς ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὸν τοῦ Ἰουνίου υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων[3] προχωρήσας[4] καὶ ἀμαχεὶ αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἐς τὰ Σάταλα[5] ἦλθε, καὶ Ἀγχίαλον τὸν Ἡνιόχων τε καὶ Μαχελόνων βασιλέα δώροις ἠμείψατο. ἐν δὲ Ἐλεγείᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸν Παρθαμάσιριν
3 προσεδέξατο. καθῆστο δὲ ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι· καὶ ὃς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν τό τε διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφεῖλε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔθηκε, σιγῇ τε εἱστήκει, καὶ προσεδόκα αὐτὸ ἀπολήψεσθαι. συμβοησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ

[1] γὰρ R. Steph., γὰρ τοῖς VC.

Being honoured for this, he performed far greater A.D. 113
and more numerous exploits in the second war, and finally advanced so far in bravery and good fortune during this present war that he was enrolled among the ex-praetors, became consul, and then governor of Palestine. To this chiefly were due the jealousy and hatred felt for him and his destruction.

When Trajan had invaded the enemy's territory, A.D. 114
the satraps and princes of that region came to meet him with gifts. One of these gifts was a horse that had been taught to do obeisance; it would kneel on its fore legs and place its head beneath the feet of whoever stood near.

Parthamasiris behaved in a rather violent fashion. In his first letter he had signed himself "king," but when no answer came, he wrote again, omitting this title, and asked that Marcus Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, be sent to him, implying that he wished to prefer some request through him. Trajan accordingly sent to him the son of Junius, while he himself proceeded to Arsamosata, of which he took possession without a struggle. Then he came to Satala and rewarded with gifts Anchialus, the king of the Heniochi and Machelones. At Elegeia in Armenia he received Parthamasiris, seated upon a tribunal in the camp. The prince saluted him, took his diadem from off his head and laid it at his feet, then stood there in silence, expecting to receive it back. At this the

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[2] ἐπέστειλέ H. Steph., ἀπέστειλέ ABM.
[3] μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων v. Gutschmid, μέχρι σαμωσάτου ABM.
[4] προχωρήσας Leuncl., προσχωρήσας ABM.
[5] Σάταλα VC, σάτα ABM.

τούτῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τὸν
Τραϊανὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τινὶ ἐπικαλεσάντων
4 (νίκην γὰρ ἀσέλινον[1] ἄναιμον ὠνόμαζον ὅτι τὸν
βασιλέα τὸν Ἀρσακίδην, τὸν Πακόρου παῖδα,
τὸν Ὀρρόου ἀδελφιδοῦν, προσεστηκότα αὐτῷ
ἄνευ διαδήματος εἶδον ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτον), ἐξε-
πλάγη τε καὶ ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ ὕβρει καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
5 αὐτοῦ[2] γεγονέναι. καὶ μετεστράφη μὲν ὡς καὶ
φευξόμενος,[3] ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι περιεστοίχισται ἐξητή-
σατο τὸ μὴ ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ τι εἰπεῖν. καὶ οὕτως
ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσαχθεὶς οὐδενὸς ἔτυχεν ὧν
20 ἐβούλετο. ἐκπηδήσαντος[4] οὖν ὀργῇ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν ὁ Τραϊα-
νός, καὶ ἀναβὰς αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκουόντων εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἤθελεν, ἵνα
μὴ ἀγνοήσαντές τινες τὰ κατὰ μόνας σφίσιν
2 εἰρημένα λογοποιήσωσί τινα διάφορα. ἀκούσας
τοῦτο ὁ Παρθαμάσιρις οὐκέτι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας ἄλλα τέ τινα εἶπε
καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡττηθεὶς οὐδὲ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀλλ' ἑκὼν
ἀφίκετο, πιστεύσας ὅτι οὔτε τι ἀδικηθήσεται καὶ
τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολήψεται ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Τιρι-
3 δάτης παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Τραϊανὸς
πρός τε τἆλλα ἀντέλεξεν ὅσα ἥρμοζεν, καὶ
Ἀρμενίαν μὲν οὐδενὶ προήσεσθαι ἔφη (Ῥωμαίων
τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἄρχοντα Ῥωμαῖον[5] ἕξειν),
ἐκείνῳ μέντοι ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι βούλεται ἐπιτρέψειν.
4 καὶ τὸν μὲν Παρθαμάσιριν μετὰ τῶν Πάρθων

[1] ἀσέλινον Bk., ἀσέληνον ABM. [2] αὑτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ ABM.
[3] φευξόμενος H. Steph., φευξούμενος A, φευξάμενος BM.
[4] ἐκπηδήσαντος Leuncl., ἐσπηδήσαντος ABM.
[5] Ῥωμαῖον Urs., ῥωμαίων ABM.

soldiers shouted aloud and hailed Trajan *imperator*, A.D. 114
as if because of some victory. (They termed it a crownless[1] and bloodless victory, to see the king, a descendant of Arsaces, a son of Pacorus, and a nephew of Osroes, standing before Trajan without a diadem, like a captive.) The shout terrified the prince, who thought that it was intended as an insult and meant his destruction; and he turned about as if to flee, but seeing that he was hemmed in on all sides, he begged that he might not be forced to speak before the crowd. Accordingly he was conducted into the tent, where he obtained none of the things he wished. So out he rushed in a rage, and thence out of the camp; but Trajan sent for him, and again ascending the tribunal, bade him say in the hearing of all everything that he desired. This was in order to prevent anybody, ignorant of what had been said in private conference, from making up a different report. On hearing this command Parthamasiris no longer kept silence, but spoke with great frankness, declaring among other things that he had not been defeated or captured, but had come there voluntarily, believing that he should not be wronged and should receive back the kingdom, as Tiridates had received it from Nero.[2] Trajan made fitting replies to all his remarks, and in particular declared that he would surrender Armenia to no one; for it belonged to the Romans and was to have a Roman governor. He would, however, allow Parthamasiris to depart to any place he pleased. So he sent the prince

[1] Literally "without the parsley crown," such as was bestowed upon the victors in some of the Greek games.

[2] Cf. lxiii (lxii), 5.

τῶν[1] *συνόντων οἱ ἀπέπεμψεν, ἀγωγούς σφισιν ἱππέας, ὅπως μήτε τινὶ συγγένωνται μήτε τι νεοχμώσωσι, δούς· τοὺς δὲ Ἀρμενίους πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας προσέταξε κατὰ χώραν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ*[2] *ἤδη ὄντας,*[3] *μεῖναι.*—Exc. U^G 52 (p. 404), Xiph. 235, 24–27 R. St.

18, 3^b *Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίων χώραν εἷλε, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ὑποπεσόντας ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἦγε, τοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ἀπειθοῦντας*
23 *ἀμαχεὶ ἐχειροῦτο, τά τε ἄλλα ἐψηφίζετο αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἡ βουλή, καὶ ὄπτιμον, εἴτ' οὖν ἄριστον, ἐπωνόμασεν. ἐβάδιζεν ἀεὶ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ πεζῇ, διεκόσμει τε αὐτοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πορείαν καὶ διέταττεν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἄγων, τούς τε ποταμούς, ὅσους γε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πεζῇ*
2 *διέβαινε. καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς διὰ*[4] *τῶν προσκόπων ἐποίει, ἵν' ἅμα τε τὰ τακτικὰ μελετῷεν καὶ ἕτοιμοι πρὸς πάντα καὶ ἀνέκπληκτοι εἶεν. καὶ ὠνομάσθη μέν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν εἷλε καὶ τὰς Βάτνας, Παρθικός, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀπτίμου προσηγορίᾳ ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις συμπάσαις, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὅπλων οὔσῃ, ἐσεμνύνετο.*—Xiph. 235, 27–236, 7 R. St.

21 *Ὅτι ὁ Τραϊανὸς φρουρὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις καταλιπὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Ἔδεσσαν,*[5] *κἀνταῦθα πρῶτον Αὔγαρον*[6] *εἶδεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρέσβεις*

[1] *τῶν* supplied by Rk. [2] *αὐτοῦ* Bk., *αὐτοῦ* ABM.
[3] *ὄντας* Urs., *ὄντος* ABM. [4] *διὰ* Suid., *κατὰ* VC.
[5] *Ἔδεσσαν* Reim., *αἴδεσαν* ABM (*αἰδέσης αἴδεσαν* cod. Peir. below).
[6] *Αὔγαρον* Urs., *ἄλβαρον* (in marg. *ἔχει ἄγβαρον*) A, *ἄμαρον* B, *ἄλβαρον* M.

away together with his Parthian companions and A.D. 114
gave them an escort of cavalry to make sure that they should associate with no one and should begin no rebellion; but he commanded all the Armenians who had come with the prince to remain where they were, on the ground that they were already his subjects.

When he had captured the whole country of the Armenians and had won over many of the kings also, some of whom, since they voluntarily submitted, he treated as friends, while others, though disobedient, he subdued without a battle, the senate voted to him all the usual honours in great plenty and furthermore bestowed upon him the title of Optimus, or Most Excellent. He always marched on foot with the rank and file of his army, and he attended to the ordering and disposition of the troops throughout the entire campaign, leading them sometimes in one order and sometimes in another; and he forded all the rivers that they did. Sometimes he even caused his scouts to circulate false reports, in order that the soldiers might at one and the same time practise military manœuvres and become fearless and ready for any dangers. After he had captured Nisibis and Batnae he was given the name of Parthicus; but he took much greater pride in the title of Optimus than in all the rest, inasmuch as it referred rather to his character than to his arms.

Leaving garrisons at opportune points, Trajan came to Edessa, and there saw Abgarus for the first time. For, although Abgarus had previously sent

καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ πολλάκις ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς
δὲ ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλας προφάσεις οὐ παρεγένετο,[1]
ὥσπερ οὐδὲ[2] ὁ Μάννος[3] ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς
πλησιοχώρου οὐδὲ[4] ὁ Σποράκης ὁ τῆς Ἀνθε-
2 μουσίας φύλαρχος. τότε δὲ τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
υἱέος Ἀρβάνδου καλοῦ καὶ ὡραίου ὄντος καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο τῷ[5] Τραϊανῷ ᾠκειωμένου πεισθείς, τὰ
δὲ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθείς, ἀπήντησέ
τε αὐτῷ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπελογήσατο, συγγνώμης
3 τε ἔτυχεν· ὁ γὰρ παῖς λαμπρόν οἱ ἱκέτευμα
ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν φίλος τε ἐκ τούτου τῷ Τραϊανῷ
ἐγένετο καὶ εἱστίασεν αὐτόν, ἔν τε τῷ δείπνῳ
παῖδα ἑαυτοῦ ὀρχησόμενον[6] βαρβαρικῶς πως
παρήγαγεν.—Exc. U^G 53 (p. 405), Suid. *s.v.*
παρήγαγεν, Exc. Val. 291 (p. 710).

22 Ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐλθόντος,
καὶ τοῦ Μάννου ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου, καὶ τοῦ
Μανισάρου πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διὰ τὸ τὸν
Ὀρρόην ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτῷ πέμψαντος καὶ τῆς
τε Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἑαλωκυίας
ἀποστῆναι ἑτοίμως ἔχοντος, οὔτε ἐκείνῳ πιστεύ-
σειν τι ἔφη πρὶν ἂν ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ
ὑπισχνεῖτο, τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσῃ,
2 καὶ τὸν Μάννον ὑπώπτευεν[7] ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι
συμμαχίαν Μηβαρσάπῃ τῷ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς
βασιλεῖ πέμψας πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἀπεβεβλήκει·[8] διόπερ οὐδὲ τότε ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς

[1] παρεγένετο Leuncl., παρεγίνετο ABM.
[2] οὐδὲ supplied by Bk.
[3] Μάννος AM, μάνος B.
[4] οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε ABM.
[5] τοῦτο τῷ Urs., τοῦ τῷ AM, τοῦτο B.

envoys and gifts to the emperor on numerous A.D. 114
occasions, he himself, first on one excuse and then another, had failed to put in an appearance, as was also the case with Mannus, the ruler of the neighbouring portion of Arabia, and Sporaces, the ruler of Anthemusia. On this occasion, however, induced partly by the persuasions of his son Arbandes, who was handsome and in the prime of youth and therefore in favour with Trajan, and partly by his fear of the latter's presence, he met him on the road, made his apologies and obtained pardon, for he had a powerful intercessor in the boy. Accordingly he became Trajan's friend and entertained him at a banquet; and during the dinner he brought in his boy to perform some barbaric dance or other.

When Trajan had come into Mesopotamia, Mannus A.D. 115
sent a herald to him, and Manisarus also dispatched envoys to seek peace, because Osroes was making a campaign against him, and he was ready to withdraw from the parts of Armenia and Mesopotamia that he had captured. Trajan replied that he would not believe him until he should come to him as he kept promising to do, and confirm his offers by his deeds. He was also suspicious of Mannus, the more so as this king had sent an auxiliary force to Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene, on which occasion he had lost it all at the hands of the Romans. Therefore Trajan at this time also did not wait for them to draw near, but

6 ὀρχησόμενον Rk., ὀρχησάμενον ABM Suid.
7 ὑπώπτευεν A, ὑπώπτευσεν BM.
8 ἀπεβεβλήκει Bk., ἀποβεβλήκει ABM.

ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἐξεχώρησε. καὶ οὕτω τά τε Σίγγαρα καὶ ἄλλα
τινὰ ἀμαχεὶ διὰ τοῦ Λουσίου κατεσχέθη.—Exc.
U^G 54 (p. 406).

24 Διατρίβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σεισμὸς
ἐξαίσιος γίνεται· καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν ἔκαμον πόλεις,
μάλιστα δὲ ἡ Ἀντιόχεια ἐδυστύχησεν. ἅτε γὰρ
τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐκεῖ χειμάζοντος, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν
στρατιωτῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν κατά τε δίκας
καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείας ἐμπορίαν τε καὶ θεωρίαν
2 πανταχόθεν συμπεφοιτηκότων, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν
οὔτε δῆμος οὐδεὶς ἀβλαβὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐν
τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη ἡ ὑπὸ τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις οὖσα ἐσφάλη.[1] ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ
κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι ἄνεμοι· ἀλλ' οὔτι
καὶ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ἐκ τούτων τοσαῦτα κακὰ
3 γενήσεσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ μύκημα ἐξαπίνης
μέγα ἐβρυχήσατο, ἔπειτα βρασμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
βιαιότατος ἐπεγένετο, καὶ ἄνω μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα
ἀνεβάλλετο, ἄνω δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἀνε-
πήδα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐπαιρόμενα συνέπιπτε
καὶ κατερρήγνυντο, τὰ δὲ καὶ δεῦρο καὶ ἐκεῖσε
κλονούμενα ὥσπερ ἐν σάλῳ περιετρέπετο, καὶ
ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου προσκατελάμβανεν.[2]
4 ὅ τε κτύπος θραυομένων καὶ καταγνυμένων ξύλων
ὁμοῦ κεράμων λίθων ἐκπληκτικώτατος ἐγίνετο,
καὶ ἡ κόνις πλείστη ὅση ἠγείρετο, ὥστε μήτε
ἰδεῖν τινα μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἀκοῦσαί τι δύνασθαι.
τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀνθρώπων πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν
5 οἰκιῶν ὄντες ἐπόνησαν· ἀναβαλλόμενοί τε γὰρ
καὶ ἀναρριπτούμενοι βιαίως, εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ
κρημνοῦ φερόμενοι προσηράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν

made his way to them at Adiabene. Thus it came about that Singara and some other places were occupied by Lusius without a battle. A.D. 115

While the emperor was tarrying in Antioch a terrible earthquake occurred; many cities suffered injury, but Antioch was the most unfortunate of all. Since Trajan was passing the winter there and many soldiers and many civilians had flocked thither from all sides in connexion with law-suits, embassies, business or sightseeing, there was no nation or people that went unscathed; and thus in Antioch the whole world under Roman sway suffered disaster. There had been many thunderstorms and portentous winds, but no one would ever have expected so many evils to result from them. First there came, on a sudden, a great bellowing roar, and this was followed by a tremendous quaking. The whole earth was upheaved, and buildings leaped into the air; some were carried aloft only to collapse and be broken in pieces, while others were tossed this way and that as if by the surge of the sea, and overturned, and the wreckage spread out over a great extent even of the open country. The crash of grinding and breaking timbers together with tiles and stones was most frightful; and an inconceivable amount of dust arose, so that it was impossible for one to see anything or to speak or hear a word. As for the people, many even who were outside the houses were hurt, being snatched up and tossed violently about and then dashed to the earth as if falling from a cliff; some were

[1] *ἐσφάλη* C, *ἐσφάγη* V.
[2] *προσκατελάμβανεν* Bk., *προκατελάμβανεν* VC.

ἐπηροῦντο οἱ δὲ ἔθνησκον. καί τινα καὶ δένδρα αὐταῖς ῥίζαις ἀνέθορε. τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταληφθέντων [1] ἀνεξεύρετος ἀριθμὸς ἀπώλετο· παμπόλλους μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν συμπιπτόντων ῥύμη ἔφθειρε, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ χώματα
6 ἔπνιξεν. ὅσοι δὲ δὴ μέρους τοῦ σώματός σφων ὑπὸ λίθων ἢ ξύλων κρατούμενοι ἔκειντο, δεινῶς ἐταλαιπώρησαν, μήτε ζῆν ἔτι μήτ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα δυνάμενοι.

25 Καὶ ἐσώθησαν γὰρ ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἅτε καὶ ἐν ἀμυθήτῳ πλήθει, συχνοί, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἀπαθεῖς ὑπεχώρησαν. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ σκελῶν συχνοὶ δὲ ὤμων ἐστερήθησαν, ἄλλοι [2] κεφαλῆς κατεάγησαν [3] ἄλλοι αἷμα ἤμουν, ὧν εἷς καὶ ὁ Πέδων ὁ ὕπατος ἐγένετο· καὶ εὐθύς τε γὰρ [4] ἀπέθανε.
2 συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν βιαίου πάθους τότε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκείνοις οὐ συνηνέχθη. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας σείοντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀπόροις καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἦσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρειπομένων οἰκο-
3 δομημάτων καταχωννύμενοι καὶ φθειρόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅσοις συνέβη ἐν διακένῳ τινί, τῶν ξύλων οὕτω κλιθέντων, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀψιδοειδεῖ τινι μεταστυλίῳ σωθῆναι. καταστάντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ θαρσήσας τις ἐπιβῆναι τῶν πεπτωκότων γυναικὸς ζώσης ᾔσθετο. αὕτη δὲ ἦν οὐ μόνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ βρέφος εἶχε, καὶ τρέφουσα τῷ γάλακτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ παιδίον
4 ἀντήρκεσεν. ἐκείνην τε οὖν [5] ἀνορύξαντες ἀνε-

[1] καταληφθέντων Bk., καταλειφθέντων VC.
[2] ἄλλοι C, ἄλλοι δὲ V.
[3] κατεάγησαν supplied by Bk.

maimed and others were killed. Even trees in some A.D. 115
cases leaped into the air, roots and all. The number of those who were trapped in the houses and perished was past finding out; for multitudes were killed by the very force of the falling débris, and great numbers were suffocated in the ruins. Those who lay with a part of their body buried under the stones or timbers suffered terribly, being able neither to live any longer nor to find an immediate death.

Nevertheless, many even of these were saved, as was to be expected in such a countless multitude; yet not all such escaped unscathed. Many lost legs or arms, some had their heads broken, and still others vomited blood; Pedo the consul was one of these, and he died at once. In a word, there was no kind of violent experience that those people did not undergo at that time. And as Heaven continued the earthquake for several days and nights, the people were in dire straits and helpless, some of them crushed and perishing under the weight of the buildings pressing upon them, and others dying of hunger, whenever it so chanced that they were left alive either in a clear space, the timbers being so inclined as to leave such a space, or in a vaulted colonnade. When at last the evil had subsided, someone who ventured to mount the ruins caught sight of a woman still alive. She was not alone, but had also an infant; and she had survived by feeding both herself and her child with her milk. They dug her out and resuscitated her together with her babe,

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[4] καὶ εὐθύς τε γὰρ corrupt or carelessly excerpted; v. Herw. would read καὶ εὐθύς γε.
[5] οὖν Zon., om. VC.

σώσαντο μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου, κἀκ τούτου καὶ τἆλλα ἀνηρεύνων, ἐν οἷς ζῶντα μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι, πλὴν παιδίου πρὸς μαστῷ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τεθνηκυῖαν θηλάζοντος, εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ἐξέλκοντες οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ ἔχαιρον.

5 Τοσαῦτα μὲν τότε πάθη τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατειλήφει· Τραϊανὸς δὲ διέφυγε μὲν διὰ θυρίδος ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ ἦν, προσελθόντος αὐτῷ μείζονός τινος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐξαγαγόντος αὐτόν, ὥστε μικρὰ ἄττα πληγέντα περιγενέσθαι, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπεῖχεν,
6 ὑπαίθριος ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ διῆγεν. ἐσείσθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Κάσιον[1] οὕτως ὥστε τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπικλίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπορρήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐσπίπτειν δοκεῖν. ὄρη τε ἄλλα ὑφίζησε, καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ὂν[2] πρότερον ἀνεφάνη, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ῥέον ἐξέλιπε.

26 Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὸ τὸ ἔαρ ἠπείχθη.[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ χώρα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι ἄφορος ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων ἐστί, τὰ πλοῖα, ἃ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐπεποίητο,[4] ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἤγαγεν ἐφ' ἁμάξαις· οὕτω γάρ πως κατεσκεύαστο ὥστε διαλύεσθαι καὶ συμπή-
2 γνυσθαι. καὶ ἔζευξεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ Καρδύηνον ὄρος ἐπιπονώτατα· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀντικαταστάντες ἐκώλυον. ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ πολλὴ τῷ Τραϊανῷ καὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιουσία, αἱ μὲν ἐξεύγνυντο πολλῷ τάχει, αἱ δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων

[1] Κάσιον Reim., κάσσιον C, κοράσιον V.
[2] μὲν οὐκ ὂν Dind., οὐκ ὂν μὲν VC.
[3] ἠπείχθη Rk., ὑπείχθη V, ὑπήχθη C.

and after that they searched the other heaps, but A.D. 115
were not able to find in them anyone still living save a child sucking at the breast of its mother, who was dead. As they drew forth the corpses they could no longer feel any pleasure even at their own escape.

So great were the calamities that had overwhelmed Antioch at this time. Trajan made his way out through a window of the room in which he was staying. Some being, of greater than human stature, had come to him and led him forth, so that he escaped with only a few slight injuries; and as the shocks extended over several days, he lived out of doors in the hippodrome. Even Mt. Casius itself was so shaken that its peaks seemed to lean over and break off and to be falling upon the very city. Other hills also settled, and much water not previously in existence came to light, while many streams disappeared.

Trajan at the beginning of spring hastened into A.D. 116
the enemy's country. And since the region near the Tigris is bare of timber suitable for building ships, he brought his boats, which had been constructed in the forests around Nisibis, to the river on waggons; for they had been built in such a way that they could be taken apart and put together again. He had great difficulty in bridging the stream opposite the Gordyaean mountains, as the barbarians had taken their stand on the opposite bank and tried to hinder him. But Trajan had a great abundance of both ships and soldiers, and so some vessels were fastened together with great speed while others lay

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[4] *ἐπεποίητο* Bk., *ἐπεποίηντο* V, *ἐπεπόηντο* C.

ἀνεκώχευον ὁπλίτας τε καὶ τοξότας φέρουσαι, ἕτεραι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὡς διαβησόμεναι ἐπεί-
3 *ρων. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ τοσαύτας ἅμα ναῦς ἀθρόας ἐξ ἠπείρου ἀξύλου ἀναφανῆναι*[1] *ἐνέδοσαν*[2] *οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἐπεραιώθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τήν τε Ἀδια-*
4[1] *βηνὴν ἅπασαν παρεστήσαντο (ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τῆς περὶ Νίνον μέρος αὕτη, καὶ τά τε Ἄρβηλα καὶ τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, παρ' οἷς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐνίκησε, ταῦτα τῆσδέ ἐστι· καί που καὶ Ἀτυρία διὰ τοῦτο βαρβαριστί, τῶν σίγμα ἐς τὸ ταῦ μεταπεσόντων, ἐκλήθη).*—Xiph. 236, 7–238, 11 R. St.

22, 3 *Ὅτι Ἀδήνυστραι τεῖχος ἦν ἰσχυρόν, πρὸς ὅ Σέντιός τις ἑκατόνταρχος πεμφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Μηβαρσάπην*[3] *πρεσβευτὴς καὶ δεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἔν τε τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ὤν, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπλησίασαν αὐτῷ, τῶν τε συνδεσμωτῶν τινας παρεσκεύασε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔκ τε τῶν δεσμῶν διαδρὰς καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον ἀποκτείνας ἀνέῳξε τὰς πύλας τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις.*—Exc. U[R] 15 (p. 407).

26, 4[2] Καὶ *μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῆς ἐχώρησαν κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν κωλυσόντων*[4] *αὐτοὺς ἐρημίαν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς τῶν Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐφθαρμένης καὶ τότε ἔτι στασιαζούσης.*—Xiph. 238, 11–14 R. St.

27, 1[a] Κοκκειανὸς *δὲ* Κάσιος *Δίων, γραφαῖς Λατίνων τετρακοσίων ἔγραψε ταύτην [τὴν Βαβυλῶνα] σταδίων εἶναι.*—Tzetz. *Chil.* 9, 572 sq.

(Ἡ *δὲ Σεμίραμις . . . πόλιν . . . ἐπυργώσατο*

[1] ἀναφανῆναι Rk., ἀποφανῆναι VC.

moored in front of them having heavy infantry and archers aboard, and still others kept making dashes this way and that, as if they intended to cross. In consequence of these tactics and because of their very consternation at seeing so many ships appear all at once out of a land destitute of trees, the barbarians gave way. And the Romans crossed over and gained possession of the whole of Adiabene. This is a district of Assyria in the vicinity of Ninus;[1] and Arbela and Gaugamela, near which places Alexander conquered Darius, are also in this same country. Adiabene, accordingly, has also been called Atyria in the language of the barbarians, the double S being changed to T. A.D. 116

Adenystrae was a strong post to which Sentius, a centurion, had been sent as an envoy to Mebarsapes. He was imprisoned by the latter there, but later, at the approach of the Romans, he arranged with some of his fellow-prisoners, and with their aid escaped from his bonds, killed the commander of the garrison and opened the gates to his countrymen.

After this they advanced as far as Babylon itself, being quite free from molestation, since the Parthian power had been destroyed by civil conflicts and was still at this time a subject of strife.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus in writings concerning the Latins has written that this city [Babylon] had a circuit of four hundred stades.

(Semiramis . . . built . . . a city) having a peri-

[1] Nineveh.

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[2] ἐνέδοσαν C, ἀνέδοσαν V.
[3] Μηβαρσάπην Leuncl., βηβαρσάπην VBM.
[4] κωλυσόντων Bk., κωλυόντων VC.

. . .) σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσαν κατὰ Κοκκειανὸν Κάσσιον Δίωνα τετρακοσίων.—Tzetz. *Exeg. in Hom. Il.* p. 141, 15 sq.

1 Ἔνθα[1] μέντοι τήν τε ἄσφαλτον εἶδε Τραϊανὸς ἐξ ἧς τὰ τείχη Βαβυλῶνος ᾠκοδόμητο (τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἢ καὶ λίθοις λεπτοῖς συμμιχθεῖσα παρέχεται ὥστε καὶ πέτρας καὶ σιδήρου παντὸς ἰσχυρότερα αὐτὰ ποιεῖν),
2 καὶ τὸ στόμιον[2] ἐθεάσατο ἐξ οὗ πνεῦμα δεινὸν ἀναδίδοται, ὥστε πᾶν μὲν ἐπίγειον ζῷον πᾶν δὲ πετεινὸν[3] ἀποφθείρειν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν ὄσφροιτό τι αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἴπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἄνω ἐχώρει ἢ καὶ πέριξ ἐσκεδάννυτο, οὐδ' ἂν ᾠκεῖτο ὁ χῶρος· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνακυκλούμενον
3 κατὰ χώραν μένει. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τά τε ἐν ὑψηλοτέρῳ πετόμενα σώζεται καὶ τὰ πέριξ νεμόμενα.[4] εἶδον ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐπειράθην αὐτοῦ δι' ὀρνέων, αὐτός τε ὑπερκύψας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν[5] τὸ πνεῦμα· κατακέκλειταί[6] τε γὰρ ἐν δεξαμενῇ τινι, καὶ θέατρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ᾠκοδόμητο, φθείρει τε πάντα τὰ ἔμψυχα πλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτετμημένων. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ συννοῆσαι ἔχω, λέγω δὲ ἅ τε εἶδον ὡς εἶδον καὶ ἃ ἤκουσα ὡς ἤκουσα.

28 Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ διώρυχα ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα τὰ πλοῖα δι' αὐτῆς κατελθόντα τὴν γέφυραν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι παράσχῃ· μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι πολὺ ὑψηλό-

[1] ἔνθα C, ἐνταῦθα V.
[2] τὸ στόμιον VC, τὸ Ἄορνον στόμιον exc. Treu, Suid., Eust.
[3] πετεινὸν VC, πτηνὸν exc. Treu, Suid.

meter of four hundred stades, according to Cassius A.D. 116
Dio Cocceianus.

Here, moreover, Trajan saw the asphalt out of which the walls of Babylon had been built. When used in connexion with baked bricks or small stones this material affords so great security as to render them stronger than any rock or iron. He also looked at the opening[1] from which issues a deadly vapour that destroys any terrestrial animal and any winged creature that so much as inhales a breath of it. Indeed, if it extended far above ground or spread out far round about, the place would not be habitable; but, as it is, the vapour circles about within itself and remains stationary. Hence creatures that fly high enough above it and those that graze at one side are safe. I saw another opening like it at Hierapolis in Asia, and tested it by means of birds; I also bent over it myself and saw the vapour myself. It is enclosed in a sort of cistern and a theatre had been built over it. It destroys all living things save human beings that have been emasculated. The reason for this I cannot understand; I merely relate what I saw as I saw it and what I heard as I heard it.

Trajan had planned to conduct the Euphrates through a canal into the Tigris, in order that he might take his boats down by this route and use them to make a bridge. But learning that this

[1] Suidas and others (see critical note) add *ἄορνον* ("bird-less," Avernus) before "opening"; this word may go back to Dio himself.

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[4] *καὶ ἐκ τούτου—νεμόμενα* exc. Treu, Suid., om. Xiph.
[5] *ἰδὼν* Rk., *ὑπεριδὼν* VC.
[6] *κατακέκλειταί* Dind., *κατακέκλεισταί* VC.

τερος τοῦ Τίγριδός ἐστι, τοῦτο μὲν[1] *οὐκ ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἄπλουν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπεργάσηται ἀθρόου τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐς τὸ κάταντες*
2 *φερομένου, ὑπερενεγκὼν δὲ*[2] *τὰ πλοῖα ὁλκοῖς διὰ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ποταμῶν ἐλαχίστου ὄντος (τὸ γὰρ ῥεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶν ἔς θ' ἕλος ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἐκεῖθέν πως τῷ Τίγριδι συμμίγνυται) τὸν Τίγριν ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἐσῆλθε, παραλαβών τε αὐτὴν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπωνομάσθη καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἐβεβαιώσατο.*
3 *ἐψηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ νικητήρια ὅσα ἐθελήσει διεορτάσαι.*

Ἑλὼν δὲ τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καταπλεῦσαι. αὕτη δὲ τοῦ τε ὠκεανοῦ μοῖρά ἐστι, καὶ ἀπό τινος ἐνδυνα-
4 *στεύσαντός ποτε ἐν αὐτῇ οὕτω κέκληται. καὶ τὴν μὲν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Τίγριδι τὴν Μεσήνην, ἧς Ἀθάμβηλος*[3] *ἐβασίλευεν, ἀπόνως ᾠκειώσατο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ χειμῶνος τῆς τε τοῦ Τίγριδος ὀξύτητος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀναρροίας ἐκινδύνευσε.*—Xiph. 238, 15–239, 14 R. St.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀθάμβηλος[4] *ὁ τῆς νήσου ἄρχων τῆς ἐν τῷ Τίγριδι οὔσης πιστὸς διέμεινεν τῷ Τραϊανῷ, καίπερ ὑποτελεῖν προσταχθείς, καὶ οἱ τὸν Χάρακα τὸν Σπασίνου καλούμενον οἰκοῦντες (ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀθαμβήλου ἐπικρατείᾳ ἦσαν) καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξαντο.*—Exc. Val. 292 (p. 713), Xiph. 239, 14–16 R. St.

29 *Κἀντεῦθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθών, τήν*

[1] *μὲν* C, *μόνον* V. [2] *δὲ* Bk., *δὴ* VC.
[3] *Ἀθάμβηλος* Bs., *ἀθάβηλος* V, *ἀθάβιλος* C, (but *ἀθαμβίλου* VC below).

river has a much higher elevation than the Tigris, he did not do so, fearing that the water might rush down in a flood and render the Euphrates unnavigable. So he used hauling-engines to drag the boats across the very narrow space that separates the two rivers (the whole stream of the Euphrates empties into a marsh and from there somehow joins the Tigris); then he crossed the Tigris and entered Ctesiphon. When he had taken possession of this place he was saluted *imperator* and established his right to the title of Parthicus. In addition to other honours voted to him by the senate, he was granted the privilege of celebrating as many triumphs as he should desire. A.D. 116

After capturing Ctesiphon he conceived a desire to sail down to the Erythraean Sea.[1] This is a part of the ocean, and has been so named from a person who formerly ruled on its shores.[2] He easily won over Mesene, the island in the Tigris of which Athambelus was king; but as the result of a storm, combined with the strong current of the Tigris and the tide coming in from the ocean, he found himself in serious danger.

Athambelus, the ruler of the island in the Tigris, remained loyal to Trajan, even though ordered to pay tribute, and the inhabitants of the Palisade of Spasinus, as it is called, received him kindly; they were subject to the dominion of Athambelus.

Then he came to the ocean itself, and when he

[1] The Persian Gulf.

[2] The mythical Erythras, who was said to have been drowned in it.

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[4] Ἀθάμβηλος Bs., σάμβηλος cod. Peir.

τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καταμαθὼν καὶ πλοῖόν τι ἐς Ἰνδίαν πλέον ἰδών, εἶπεν ὅτι "πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς, εἰ νέος ἔτι ἦν, ἐπεραιώθην." Ἰνδούς τε γὰρ ἐνενόει, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα ἐπολυπραγμόνει, τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμακάριζε. καίτοι[1] *ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκείνου περαιτέρω προκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλε, μὴ*
2 *δυνηθεὶς μηδὲ ἃ ἐκεχείρωτο*[2] *σῶσαι. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄλλα τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐπινίκια ὅσων ἂν ἐθελήσῃ ἐθνῶν πέμψαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀεί σφισι γραφομένων οὔτε συνεῖναί τινα αὐτῶν οὔτε*
3 *ὀνομάσαι καλῶς ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἁψῖδα αὐτῷ τροπαιοφόρον πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύαζον, καὶ ἡτοιμάζοντο ὡς πορρωτέρω ἀπαντήσοντες εἰ ἐπανίοι· ἔμελλε δ' ἄρα μήτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔτι ἀφίξεσθαι μήτε ἄξιόν τι τῶν προκατειργασμένων πράξειν, καὶ*
4 *προσέτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπολέσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατέπλει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν αὖθις ἀνεκομίζετο, πάντα τὰ ἑαλωκότα ἐταράχθη καὶ ἀπέστη, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἕκαστοι φρουροὺς οἱ μὲν ἐξέβαλλον*[3] *οἱ δ' ἀπεκτίννυσαν.*

30 *Μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι*[4] *(καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθε κατά τε τὴν φήμην, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄξιον εἶδεν ὅ τι μὴ χώματα καὶ λίθους*[5] *καὶ ἐρείπια, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾧ καὶ ἐνήγισεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι ἐν ᾧ ἐτετελευτήκει)—*

[1] *καίτοι* Bk., *καὶ* VC.
[2] *ἐκεχείρωτο* Dind., *κεχείρωτο* Sylb., *κεχείρωται* VC.
[3] *ἐξέβαλλον* Sylb., *ἐξέβαλον* VC.
[4] *Βαβυλῶνι* Tillemont, *πλοίῳ* VC.
[5] *λίθους* Rk., *μύθους* VC.

had learned its nature and had seen a ship sailing to India, he said: "I should certainly have crossed over to the Indi, too, if I were still young." For he began to think about the Indi and was curious about their affairs, and he counted Alexander a lucky man. Yet he would declare that he himself had advanced farther than Alexander, and would so write to the senate, although he was unable to preserve even the territory that he had subdued. For this achievement he obtained among other honours the privilege of celebrating a triumph for as many nations as he pleased; for by reason of the large number of the peoples of whom he was constantly writing to them they were unable in some cases to follow him intelligently or even to use the names correctly. So the people in Rome were preparing for him a triumphal arch besides many other tributes in his own forum and were getting ready to go forth an unusual distance to meet him on his return. But he was destined never to reach Rome again nor to accomplish anything comparable to his previous exploits, and furthermore to lose even those earlier acquisitions. For during the time that he was sailing down to the ocean and returning from there again all the conquered districts were thrown into turmoil and revolted, and the garrisons placed among the various peoples were either expelled or slain. A.D. 116

Trajan learned of this at Babylon; for he had gone there[1] both because of its fame—though he saw nothing but mounds and stones and ruins to justify this—and because of Alexander, to whose spirit he offered sacrifice in the room where he had died.

[1] It was not stated above (ch. 26, 4; 27, 1) that Trajan himself went to Babylon on his advance southward.

μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τόν τε Λούσιον καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον
2 *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἔπεμψε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ, Λούσιος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ κατώρθωσε καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἀνέλαβε, τήν τε Ἔδεσσαν*[1] *ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ διέφθειρε καὶ ἐνέπρησεν. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκεια πρός τε Ἐρυκίου Κλάρου καὶ πρὸς Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου*
3 *ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ἐκαύθη. Τραϊανὸς δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τι νεοχμώσωσι, βασιλέα αὐτοῖς ἴδιον δοῦναι ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἐς Κτησιφῶντα ἐλθὼν συνεκάλεσεν ἐς πεδίον τι μέγα πάντας μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάντας δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους τοὺς ἐκεῖ τότε ὄντας, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβάς, καὶ μεγαληγορήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ κατειργάσατο, Παρθαμασπάτην τοῖς Πάρθοις βασιλέα ἀπέδειξε, τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐπιθείς.*—Xiph. 239, 16–240, 15 R. St.

LXXV 9, 6 *Ὅτι τῷ Οὐολογαίσῳ*[2] *τῷ Σανατρούκου*[3] *παιδὶ ἀντιπαραταξαμένῳ τοῖς περὶ Σεουῆρον, καὶ διοκωχὴν*[4] *πρὶν συμμῖξαί σφισιν αἰτήσαντι καὶ λαβόντι, πρέσβεις τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐχαρίσατο.*—Exc. U[R] 16 (p. 414).

31 *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἦλθε, καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρηνοῖς,*[5] *ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφειστήκεσαν, ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὔτε μεγάλη οὔτε εὐδαίμων ἡ πόλις· ἥ τε πέριξ χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστόν ἐστι, καὶ οὔθ' ὕδωρ, ὅ τι μὴ βραχὺ καὶ τοῦτο δυσχερές, οὔτε ξύλον οὔτε χιλὸν ἴσχει.*

[1] *Ἔδεσσαν* R. Steph., *ἔδεσαν* VC.
[2] *Οὐολογαίσῳ* Bk., *βολογαίσῳ* VBM.
[3] *Σανατρούκου* Reim., *σανουτρούκου* VBM.

When he learned of the revolt, he sent Lusius and Maximus against the rebels. The latter was defeated in battle and perished; but Lusius, in addition to many other successes, recovered Nisibis, and besieged and captured Edessa, which he sacked and burned. Seleucia was also captured by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander, lieutenants, and was burned. Trajan, fearing that the Parthians, too, might begin a revolt, desired to give them a king of their own. Accordingly, when he came to Ctesiphon, he called together in a great plain all the Romans and likewise all the Parthians that were there at the time; then he mounted a lofty platform, and after describing in grandiloquent language what he had accomplished, he appointed Parthamaspates king over the Parthians and set the diadem upon his head. A.D. 116

When Vologaesus, the son of Sanatruces, had arrayed himself against Severus and his army and before joining battle asked and secured an armistice, Trajan sent envoys to him and granted him a portion of Armenia in return for peace.[1]

Next he came into Arabia and began operations against the people of Hatra, since they, too, had revolted. This city is neither large nor prosperous, and the surrounding country is mostly desert and has neither water (save a small amount and that poor in quality) nor timber nor fodder. These very A.D. 117 (?)

[1] This excerpt was erroneously assigned by Ursinus to the reign of Severus. Boissevain's reasons for placing it here were published in *Hermes* xxv. 329ff.

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[4] διοκωχὴν Dind., διακοχὴν VM, διακωχην B.
[5] Ἀτρηνοῖς Val., ἀγαρηνοῖς VC.

2 καὶ πρός τε αὐτῶν τούτων, ἀδύνατον τὴν προσεδρείαν πλήθει ποιούντων, πρός τε τοῦ Ἡλίου, ᾧπέρ που καὶ ἀνάκειται, ῥύεται· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ τότε οὔτε ὑπὸ Σεουήρου ὕστερον ἥλω, καίτοι καὶ καταβαλόντων μέρη τινὰ τοῦ τείχους
3 αὐτῆς. Τραϊανὸς δὲ τούς τε ἱππέας πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος προπέμψας ἐσφάλη,[1] ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοὺς ἐσαραχθῆναι,[2] καὶ αὐτὸς παριππεύσας βραχυτάτου ἐδέησε τρωθῆναι, καίπερ τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος ἵνα μὴ γνωρισθῇ. τῆς δὲ πολιᾶς αὐτοῦ τὸ γαῦρον καὶ τὸ σεμνοπρεπὲς τοῦ προσώπου ἰδόντες ὑπετόπησάν τε εἶναι ὃς ἦν, καὶ ἐπετόξευσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἱππέα
4 τινὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἀπέκτειναν. ἐγίνοντο[3] δὲ βρονταί, καὶ ἴριδες ὑπεφαίνοντο, ἀστραπαί τε καὶ ζάλη χάλαζά τε[4] καὶ κεραυνοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέπιπτον, ὁπότε προσβάλοιεν. καὶ ὁπότε οὖν δειπνοῖεν, μυῖαι τοῖς βρώμασι καὶ τοῖς πώμασι[5] προσιζάνουσαι δυσχερείας ἅπαντα ἐνεπίμπλων.
32 καὶ Τραϊανὸς μὲν ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως ἀπῆλθε, καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀρρωστεῖν ἤρχετο.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἀνδρέαν[6] τινὰ προστησάμενοί σφων, τούς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφθειρον, καὶ τάς τε σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἀνεδοῦντο τῷ τε αἵματι ἠλείφοντο καὶ τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνεδύοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μέσους ἀπὸ κορυφῆς
2 διέπριον· θηρίοις ἑτέρους ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ μονομαχεῖν ἄλλους[7] ἠνάγκαζον, ὥστε τὰς πάσας δύο

[1] ἐσφάλη V^2C^2, ἐσφάγη V^1C^1.
[2] ἐσαραχθῆναι Reim., ἐσαρραχθῆναι VC.
[3] ἐγίνοντο Bk., ἐγένοντο VC.

disadvantages, however, afford it protection, making impossible a siege by a large multitude, as does also the Sun-god, to whom it is consecrated; for it was taken neither at this time by Trajan nor later by Severus, although they both overthrew parts of its wall. Trajan sent the cavalry forward against the wall, but failed in his attempt, and the attackers were hurled back into the camp. Indeed, the emperor himself barely missed being wounded as he was riding past, in spite of the fact that he had laid aside his imperial attire to avoid being recognized; but the enemy, seeing his majestic gray head and his august countenance, suspected his identity, shot at him and killed a cavalryman in his escort. There were peals of thunder, rainbow tints showed, and lightnings, rain-storms, hail and thunderbolts descended upon the Romans as often as they made assaults. And whenever they ate, flies settled on their food and drink, causing discomfort everywhere. Trajan therefore departed thence, and a little later began to fail in health. A.D. 117 (?)

Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand

[4] τε supplied by Bk.
[5] πώμασι Dind., πόμασι VC.
[6] Ἀνδρέαν Scaliger, ἀνδρίαν VC.
[7] ἄλλους C, ἀλλήλους V.

καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀπολέσθαι. ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ὅμοια καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, ἡγουμένου τινὸς σφισιν Ἀρτεμίωνος· καὶ ἀπώλοντο
3 καὶ ἐκεῖ μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐδενὶ[1] Ἰουδαίῳ ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀνέμῳ τις βιασθεὶς ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκπέσῃ[2] θανατοῦται. ἀλλ' Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσιος ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ πεμφθεὶς κατεστρέψατο.

33 Τραϊανὸς δὲ παρεσκευάζετο μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στρατεῦσαι, ὡς δὲ τῷ νοσήματι ἐπιέζετο, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥρμησε πλεῖν, Πούπλιον[3] δὲ Αἴλιον Ἁδριανὸν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατέλιπε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τῆς πλείονος τῶν τε Πάρθων κρατήσαντες μάτην
2 ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάτην ἐκινδύνευσαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν Παρθαμασπάτην ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐν τῷ σφετέρῳ τρόπῳ ἤρξαντο βασιλεύεσθαι. ἐνόσησε δ' ὁ[4] Τραϊανός, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπώπτευσεν, ἐκ φαρμάκου λήψεως, ὡς δέ τινες λέγουσιν, ἐπισχεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ αἵματος ὃ κατ' ἔτος κάτω
3 διεχώρει· ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπόπληκτος, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ σώματός τι παρεθῆναι, τὸ δ' ὅλον ὑδρωπίασε. καὶ ἐς Σελινοῦντα τῆς Κιλικίας ἐλθών, ἣν δὴ καὶ Τραϊανούπολιν καλοῦμεν, ἐξαίφνης ἀπέψυξε, μοναρχήσας ἔτη δεκαεννέα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ ἡμέρας τε πεντεκαίδεκα.—Xiph. 240, 15–241, 27 R. St.

persons perished. In Egypt, too, they perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There, also, two hundred and forty thousand perished, and for this reason no Jew may set foot on that island, but even if one of them is driven upon its shores by a storm he is put to death. Among others who subdued the Jews was Lusius, who was sent by Trajan. A.D. 117(?)

Trajan was preparing to make a fresh expedition into Mesopotamia, but, as his malady began to afflict him sorely, he set out, intending to sail to Italy, leaving Publius Aelius Hadrian with the army in Syria. Thus it came about that the Romans in conquering Armenia, most of Mesopotamia, and the Parthians had undergone their hardships and dangers all for naught, for even the Parthians rejected Parthamaspates and began to be ruled once more in their own fashion. Trajan himself suspected that his sickness was due to poison that had been administered to him; but some state that it was because the blood, which descends every year into the lower parts of the body, was in his case checked in its flow. He had also suffered a stroke, so that a portion of his body was paralyzed, and he was dropsical all over. On coming to Selinus in Cilicia, which we also call Traianopolis, he suddenly expired, after reigning nineteen years, six months and fifteen days. A.D. 117

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[1] οὐδενὶ Sylb., οὐδὲν VC.
[2] ἐκπέσῃ Rk., ἐμπέσηι VC.
[3] Πούπλιον Bk., πόπλιον VC Zon.
[4] δ' ὁ (δὲ ὁ) H. Steph., δὲ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXIX

1 Ἁδριανὸς[1] δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Τραϊανοῦ οὐκ ἐσεποιήθη·
ἦν μὲν γὰρ πολίτης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπετροπεύθη ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ, γένους θ' οἱ ἐκοινώνει καὶ ἀδελφιδῆν αὐτοῦ
ἐγεγαμήκει, τό τε σύμπαν συνῆν αὐτῷ καὶ
2 συνδιητᾶτο, τῇ τε Συρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ Παρθικῷ πολέμῳ
προσετάχθη, οὐ μέντοι οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ἐξαίρετον
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν οὔθ' ὕπατος ἐν πρώτοις ἐγένετο,
ἀλλὰ καὶ Καίσαρα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ
Τραϊανοῦ ἄπαιδος μεταλλάξαντος ὅ τε Ἀττιανὸς
πολίτης αὐτοῦ ὢν καὶ ἐπίτροπος γεγονώς, καὶ ἡ
Πλωτῖνα ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας, πλησίον τε ὄντα
3 καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ἔχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. ὁ γὰρ
πατήρ μου Ἀπρωνιανός, τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρξας,
πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐμεμαθήκει σαφῶς, ἔλεγε δὲ
τά τε ἄλλα ὡς ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ
Τραϊανοῦ ἡμέρας τινὰς διὰ τοῦτο συνεκρύφθη ἵν'
4 ἡ ποίησις προεκφοιτήσοι. ἐδηλώθη δὲ τοῦτο
καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ·
ταῖς γὰρ ἐπιστολαῖς οὐχ αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἡ Πλωτῖνα
ὑπέγραψεν, ὅπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐπεποιήκει.
2 Ἦν δέ, ὅτε ἀνηγορεύθη αὐτοκράτωρ, Ἁδριανὸς
ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Συρίας Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἧς ἦρχεν·
ἐδόκει δὲ ὄναρ πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ

[1] Ἁδριανὸς Leuncl., ἀδριανὸς MSS. regularly.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXIX

HADRIAN had not been adopted by Trajan; he was merely a compatriot[1] and former ward of his, was of near kin to him and had married his niece,—in short, he was a companion of his, sharing his daily life, and had been assigned to Syria for the Parthian War. Yet he had received no distinguishing mark of favour from Trajan, such as being one of the first to be appointed consul. He became Caesar and emperor owing to the fact that when Trajan died childless, Attianus, a compatriot and former guardian of his, together with Plotina, who was in love with him, secured him the appointment, their efforts being facilitated by his proximity and by his possession of a large military force. My father, Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia, had ascertained accurately the whole story about him, and he used to relate the various incidents, in particular stating that the death of Trajan was concealed for several days in order that Hadrian's adoption might be announced first. This was shown also by Trajan's letters to the senate, for they were signed, not by him, but by Plotina, although she had not done this in any previous instance. A.D. 117

At the time that he was declared emperor, Hadrian was in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, of which he was governor. He had dreamed before the day in

[1] Dio here follows the erroneous tradition that Hadrian was born at Italica in Spain.

οὐρανοῦ, ἔν τε αἰθρίᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐδίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐμπεσεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρελθεῖν, μήτε ἐκφοβῆσαν
2 *αὐτὸν μήτε βλάψαν. ἔγραψε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἀξιῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ*[1] *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνης, καὶ ἀπαγορεύων μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τότε μήτε ἄλλοτε τιμὴν δή τινα φέρον, οἷα εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ψηφισθῆναι, πλὴν ἄν τι αὐτός ποτε ἀξιώσῃ.*

3 *Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη, καὶ αἱ θέαι αἱ Παρθικαὶ ὀνομασθεῖσαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο· ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ αὕτη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, κατελύθη.*—Xiph. 242, 8–243, 5 R. St.

4 *Ὅτι ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινι ἔγραψε τά τε ἄλλα μεγαλοφρονησάμενος, καὶ ἐπομόσας μήτε τι ἔξω τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφερόντων ποιήσειν μήτε βουλευτήν τινα ἀποσφάξειν, καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ, ἂν καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν ἐκβῇ, προσεπαρασάμενος.*—Exc. Val. 293[a] (p. 713), Suidas *s.v.* Ἀδριανός *gl.* 2.

5 *Ἀδριανὸς δέ, καίτοι φιλανθρωπότατα ἄρξας, ὅμως διά τινας φόνους ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐν ἀρχῇ τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἐπεποίητο,*[2] *διεβλήθη, καὶ ὀλίγου διὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἀνεγράφη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ φονευθέντες Πάλμας*[3] *τε καὶ Κέλσος Νιγρῖνός τε καὶ Λούσιος ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν θήρᾳ δῆθεν ἐπιβεβουλευκότες αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἑτέροις δή τισιν ἐγκλήμασιν, οἷα μεγάλα δυνάμενοι καὶ*
6 *πλούτου καὶ δόξης εὖ ἥκοντες· ἐφ' οἷς Ἀδριανὸς οὕτω τῶν λογοποιουμένων ᾔσθετο ὥστε καὶ*

question that a fire descended out of heaven, the A.D. 117
sky being perfectly clear and bright, and fell first upon the left side of his throat, passing then to the right side, though it neither frightened nor injured him. And he wrote to the senate asking that body to confirm the sovereignty to him and forbidding the passing either then or later of any measure (as was so often done) that contained any special honour for him, unless he should ask for it at some time.

The bones of Trajan were deposited in his Column, and the Parthian Games, as they were called, continued for a number of years; but at a later date even this observance, like many others, was abolished.

In a certain letter that Hadrian wrote, in which were many high-minded sentiments, he swore that he would neither do anything contrary to the public interest nor put to death any senator, and he invoked destruction upon himself if he should violate these promises in any wise.

Trajan, though he ruled with the greatest mildness, was nevertheless severely criticized for slaying several of the best men in the beginning of his reign and again near the end of his life, and for this reason he came near failing to be enrolled among the demigods. Those who were slain at the beginning were Palma and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, the first two for the alleged reason that they had conspired against him during a hunt, and the others on certain other complaints, but in reality because they had great influence and enjoyed wealth and fame. Nevertheless, Hadrian felt so keenly the comments that this

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[1] αὐτῷ H. Steph., αὐτῶ VC.
[2] ἐπεποίητο St., πεποίητο VC.
[3] Πάλμας Sylb., πάλμος VC.

*ἀπελογήσατο καὶ ἐπώμοσε μὴ κεκελευκέναι
ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ Σερουιανός
τε ὑπῆρχον καὶ ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ Φοῦσκος.*—Xiph.
243, 5–15 R. St.

6[2] *Ὅτι Ἀδριανὸς ἦν ἡδὺς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ ἐπήνθει
τις αὐτῷ χάρις.*—Joann. Antioch. *fr.* 113 Muell.
(v. 1, 2).

3 *Ἦν δὲ Ἁδριανὸς γένος μὲν βουλευτοῦ πατρὸς
ἐστρατηγηκότος Ἁδριανοῦ Ἄφρου* [1] *(οὕτω γὰρ
ὠνομάζετο), φύσει* [2] *δὲ φιλολόγος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ
γλώσσῃ· καί τινα καὶ πεζὰ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιή-
2 ματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε.* [3] *φιλοτιμίᾳ τε γὰρ
ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τἆλλα
πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἐπετήδευε· καὶ γὰρ
ἔπλασσε καὶ ἔγραφε καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ εἰρηνικὸν
καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν
3 εἰδέναι ἔλεγε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδέν που τοὺς ἀν-
θρώπους ἔβλαπτεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ φθόνος αὐτοῦ δεινό-
τατος ἐς πάντας τούς τινι προέχοντας ὢν* [4] *πολλοὺς
μὲν καθεῖλε συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσε. βουλόμενος
γὰρ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι περιεῖναι ἐμίσει τοὺς ἔν τινι
4 ὑπεραίροντας. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὸν Φαουωρῖνον* [5]
*τὸν Γαλάτην τόν τε Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς
σοφιστὰς καταλύειν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ
μάλιστα τῷ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς σφων ἐξαίρειν,
τοὺς μὲν μηδενὸς τοὺς δὲ βραχυτάτου τινὸς ἀξίους
5 ὄντας· ὅτε Διονύσιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀουίδιον* [6] *Ἡλιό-
δωρον, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διαγαγόντα,*

[1] *Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄφρου* Bk., *ἀδριανοῦ ἄφρου υἱὸς* VC, *αὔφρου* cod. Peir., *ἄφρου* Suid.

[2] *φύσει* VC, *φύσιν* cod. Peir.

[3] *καταλέλοιπε* VC, *κατέλιπεν* cod. Peir. Suid.

action occasioned, that he made a defence and declared upon oath that he had not ordered their deaths. Those who perished at the end of his reign were Servianus and his grandson Fuscus. A.D. 117

Hadrian was a pleasant man to meet and he possessed a certain charm.

As regards birth Hadrian was the son of a man of senatorial rank, an ex-praetor, Hadrianus Afer by name. By nature he was fond of literary study in both the Greek and Latin languages, and has left behind a variety of prose writings as well as compositions in verse. For his ambition was insatiable, and hence he practised all conceivable pursuits, even the most trivial; for example, he modelled and painted, and declared that there was nothing pertaining to peace or war, to imperial or private life, of which he was not cognizant. All this, of course, did people no harm; but his jealousy of all who excelled in any respect was most terrible and caused the downfall of many, besides utterly destroying several. For, inasmuch as he wished to surpass everybody in everything, he hated those who attained eminence in any direction. It was this feeling that led him to undertake to overthrow two sophists, Favorinus the Gaul, and Dionysius of Miletus, by various methods, but chiefly by elevating their antagonists, who were of little or no worth at all. Dionysius is said to have remarked then to Avidius Heliodorus, who had had charge of the

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[4] *καὶ τοῦτο—προέχοντας ὢν* cod. Peir., *ἐκ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἔν τινι* (C, *ἔν τω* V) *προεχόντων* VC.
[5] *Φαουωρῖνον* Bk., *φαβωρῖνον* VC cod. Peir. Suid.
[6] *'Αουίδιον* O. Hirschfeld, *αὐτοῦ ἰδίον* VC.

εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "Καῖσαρ χρήματα μέν σοι καὶ τιμὴν δοῦναι δύναται, ῥήτορα δέ σε ποιῆσαι οὐ δύ-
6 *ναται," καὶ ὁ Φαουωρῖνος μέλλων παρ' αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας ἣν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔχειν ἠξίου δικάσασθαι, ὑποτοπήσας καὶ ἐλαττωθήσεσθαι καὶ προσυβρισθήσεσθαι, ἐσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, εἶπε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι "ὁ διδάσκαλός μου ὄναρ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης ἐπιστάς μοι ἐκέλευσε λειτουργεῖν τῇ πατρίδι ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῃ γεγεννημένον."*[1]—Xiph. 243, 15–244, 1 R. St., Exc. Val. 293ᵇ (p. 713), Suid. *s v.* Ἀδριανός *gl.* 1.

4 *Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τούτων μέν, καίπερ ἀχθεσθείς σφισιν, ἐφείσατο, μηδεμίαν εὔλογον ὀλέθρου κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν λαβών· τὸν δ' Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ᾠδεῖον τό τε γυμνάσιον, τὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ποιήματα, ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφυγά-*
2 *δευσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς πλημμελήσαντά τι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ κοινουμένου τι αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἔργων εἶπε τῷ Ἀδριανῷ παραλαλήσαντί τι ὅτι "ἄπελθε καὶ τὰς κολοκύντας γράφε· τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαι." ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἄρα τότε ἐκεῖνος τοιούτῳ*
3 *τινὶ γράμματι σεμνυνόμενος. αὐτοκρατορεύσας οὖν τότε ἐμνησικάκησε καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἤνεγκεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς τε Ῥώμης ναοῦ τὸ διάγραμμα αὐτῷ πέμψας, δι' ἔνδειξιν ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ ἐκείνου μέγα ἔργον γίγνεσθαι δύναται, ἤρετο εἰ εὖ ἔχοι τὸ κατα-*
4 *σκεύασμα· ὁ δ' ἀντεπέστειλε περί τε τοῦ ναοῦ*

[1] γεγεννημένον R. Steph., γεγενημένον VC.

emperor's correspondence: "Caesar can give you A.D. 117 money and honour, but he cannot make you an orator." And Favorinus, who was about to plead a case before the emperor in regard to exemption from taxes, a privilege which he desired to secure in his native land, suspected that he should be unsuccessful and receive insults besides, and so merely entered the court-room and made this brief statement: "My teacher stood beside me last night in a dream and bade me serve my country, as having been born for her."

Now Hadrian spared these men, displeased as he was with them, for he could find no plausible pretext to use against them for their destruction. But he first banished and later put to death Apollodorus, the architect, who had built the various creations of Trajan in Rome—the forum, the odeum and the gymnasium. The reason assigned was that he had been guilty of some misdemeanor; but the true reason was that once when Trajan was consulting him on some point about the buildings he had said to Hadrian, who had interrupted with some remark: "Be off, and draw your gourds. You don't understand any of these matters." (It chanced that Hadrian at the time was pluming himself upon some such drawing.) When he became emperor, therefore, he remembered this slight and would not endure the man's freedom of speech. He sent him the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory. The architect in his reply stated, first, in regard to the temple, that it ought to have been built on

ὅτι[1] καὶ μετέωρον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπεκκεκενωμένον γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν, ἵν' ἔς τε τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἐκφανέστερος[2] ἐξ ὑψηλοτέρου εἴη καὶ ἐς τὸ κοῖλον τὰ μηχανήματα ἐσδέχοιτο, ὥστε καὶ ἀφανῶς συμπήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐξ οὐ προειδότος ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ὅτι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ μεγάρου[3] λόγον
5 ἐποιήθη· "ἂν γὰρ αἱ θεαί" ἔφη "ἐξαναστήσεσθαί τε καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν, οὐ δυνηθήσονται." ταῦτα γὰρ ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ γράψαντος καὶ ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπερήλγησεν ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἀδιόρθωτον ἁμαρτίαν ἐπεπτώκει, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε
6 τὴν λύπην κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτω γε τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ἦν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι φθονεῖν· τὸν γοῦν Ὅμηρον καταλύων Ἀντίμαχον ἀντ'[4] αὐτοῦ ἐσῆγεν,[5] οὗ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον ἠπίσταντο.

5 Ἠιτιῶντο μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβὲς τό τε περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον·[6] ἐθεράπευε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνελάμβανε[7] τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ τῷ μήτε τινὰ πόλεμον ταράξαι καὶ τοὺς ὄντας παῦσαι, μήτε τινὸς[8] χρήματα ἀδίκως ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ πολλοῖς πολλά, καὶ δήμοις

[1] ὅτι Bk., καὶ ὅτι VC.
[2] ἐκφανέστερος Sylb., ἐκφανέστερον VC.
[3] μεγάρου Reim., μεγάλου VC. [4] ἀντ' om. cod. Peir.
[5] ἐσῆγεν cod. Peir., εἰσάγειν VC.
[6] περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον Suid., πολύπραγμον καὶ τὸ περίεργον cod. Peir., περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολύτροπον VC Zon.
[7] ἀνελάμβανε VC Suid., ἀπελάμβανε cod. Peir.
[8] τινὸς VC cod. Peir., τινὰ Suid.

high ground and that the earth should have been excavated beneath it, so that it might have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way from its higher position, and might also have accommodated the machines in its basement, so that they could be put together unobserved and brought into the theatre without anyone's being aware of them beforehand. Secondly, in regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height of the cella. "For now," he said, "if the goddesses wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so." When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the emperor was both vexed and exceedingly grieved because he had fallen into a mistake that could not be righted, and he restrained neither his anger nor his grief, but slew the man. Indeed, his nature was such that he was jealous not only of the living, but also of the dead; at any rate he abolished Homer and introduced in his stead Antimachus,[1] whose very name had previously been unknown to many. A.D. 117

Other traits for which people found fault with him were his great strictness, his curiosity and his meddlesomeness. Yet he balanced and atoned for these defects by his careful oversight, his prudence, his munificence and his skill; furthermore, he did not stir up any war, and he terminated those already in progress; and he deprived no one of money unjustly, while upon many—communities and private citizens,

[1] Antimachus of Colophon, an epic poet who flourished about 400 B.C. He wrote an epic, the *Thebais*, and an elegy, *Lyde*, both characterized by extreme length and a wealth of mythological lore. By the Alexandrian grammarians he was ranked next to Homer among the epic poets. For Hadrian's preferences in the field of Roman literature see the *Vita Hadriani* (in the *Historia Augusta*), chap. 16.

καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ βουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἱππεῦσι,[1]
2 *χαρίσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέμενεν αἰτηθῆναί τι, ἀλλὰ πάνυ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστου χρείαν ἐποίει. καὶ τά τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκριβέστατα ἤσκησεν, ὥστ' ἰσχύοντα μήτ' ἀπειθεῖν μήτε ὑβρίζειν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις τάς τε συμμαχίδας καὶ τὰς ὑπηκόους μεγαλοπρεπέστατα ὠφέλησε.*
3 *πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτῶν, ὅσας οὐδεὶς ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ, πάσαις δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐπεκούρησε, ταῖς μὲν ὕδωρ ταῖς δὲ λιμένας σῖτόν τε καὶ ἔργα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλαις ἄλλας διδούς.*—Xiph. 244, 1–245, 6 R. St., Exc. Val. 294 (p. 713), Suidas *s.v.* Ἀδριανὸς *gl.* 4.

6 Ἦγε δὲ *καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν* Ῥωμαίων *ἐμβριθῶς μᾶλλον ἢ θωπευτικῶς· καί ποτε ἰσχυρῶς αἰτοῦντί τι*[2] *ἐν ὁπλομαχίᾳ οὔτε ἔνειμε, καὶ προσέτι ἐκέλευσε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ κηρυχθῆναι*
2 *"σιωπήσατε." οὐκ ἐλέχθη μὲν γάρ· ὁ γὰρ κῆρυξ ἀνατείνας τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου*[3] *ἡσυχάσας, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι ποιεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁπότε ὑπὸ κηρύγματος σιγάζονται), ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπησαν, ἔφη "τοῦτ' ἐθέλει."*[4] *καὶ οὐκ ὅτι τινὰ ὀργὴν τῷ κήρυκι ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ὅτι τὴν δυσχέρειαν τοῦ κελεύσματος οὐκ ἐξέφησεν.*
3 *ἔφερε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἠγανάκτει εἴ τι καὶ παρὰ γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τῶν τυχόντων ὠφελοῖτο. ἀμέλει γυναικὸς παριόντος αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ τινι δεομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὅτι "οὐ σχολάζω," ἔπειτα ὡς ἐκείνη ἀνακραγοῦσα*

senators and knights—he bestowed large sums. A.D. 117
Indeed, he did not even wait to be asked, but acted in absolutely every case according to the individual needs. He subjected the legions to the strictest discipline, so that, though strong, they were neither insubordinate nor insolent; and he aided the allied and subject cities most munificently. He had seen many of them,—more, in fact, than any other emperor,—and he assisted practically all of them, giving to some a water supply, to others harbours, food, public works, money and various honours, differing with the different cities.

He led the Roman people rather by dignity than by flattery. Once at a gladiatorial contest, when the crowd was demanding something very urgently, he not only would not grant it but further bade the herald proclaim Domitian's command, "Silence." The word was not uttered, however, for the herald raised his hand and by that very gesture quieted the people, as heralds are accustomed to do (for crowds are never silenced by proclamation), and then, when they had become quiet, he said: "That is what he wishes." And Hadrian was not in the least angry with the herald, but actually honoured him for not uttering the rude order. For he could bear such things, and was not displeased if he received aid either in an unexpected way or from ordinary men. At any rate, once, when a woman made a request of him as he passed by on a journey, he at first said to her, "I haven't time," but afterwards, when she

[1] βουλευταῖς—ἱππεῦσι VC, ἄλλοις τισι cod. Peir.
[2] τι Zon., om. VC.
[3] τούτου R. Steph., τούτους VC.
[4] τοῦτ' ἐθέλει Bk., τοῦτο θέλει VC.

ἔφη "καὶ μὴ βασίλευε," ἐπεστράφη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτῇ ἔδωκεν.

7 Ἔπραττε δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάντα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα, καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε Πανθείῳ καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, ἀπὸ βήματος, ὥστε δημοσιεύεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔστιν ὅτε δικάζουσι συνεγίγνετο,
2 ἔν τε ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις αὐτοὺς ἐτίμα. καὶ οἴκαδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν φορείῳ ἐφέρετο, ὅπως μηδένα συνακολουθοῦντά οἱ ἐνοχλοίη. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μήτε ἱεραῖς μήτε δημοσίοις ἡμέραις οἴκοι ἔμενε, καὶ οὐδένα οὐδ' ὅσον ἀσπάσασθαι προσεδέχετο, εἰ μή τι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη, ἵνα μὴ πάνυ
3 ταλαιπωροῖντο. ἀεί τε περὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ἀρίστους εἶχε, καὶ συνῆν σφισι καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τέταρτος πολλάκις ὠχεῖτο. ἐθήρα δὲ ὁσάκις ἐνεδέχετο, καὶ ἠρίστα ἄνευ οἴνου· καὶ πλείονα ἐσιτεῖτο· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δικάζων μεταξὺ τροφῆς μετελάμβανεν·[1] ἔπειτα μετὰ πάντων τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐδείπνει, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ[2] τὸ
4 συσσίτιον παντοδαπῶν λόγων πλῆρες. τούς τε πάνυ νοσοῦντας φίλους ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἑορτάζουσί σφισι συνδιῃτᾶτο, τοῖς τε ἀγροῖς καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν ἡδέως ἐχρῆτο· ὅθεν καὶ εἰκόνας πολλοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσι πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ζῶσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστησεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐξύβρισέ

[1] καὶ πλείονα—μετελάμβανεν Patric., om. Xiph.
[2] αὐτῷ Zon. exc. Vat., αὐτοῦ VC.

cried out, "Cease, then, being emperor," he turned about and granted her a hearing. A.D. 117

He transacted with the aid of the senate all the important and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of the foremost men, now in the palace, now in the Forum or the Pantheon or various other places, always being seated on a tribunal, so that whatever was done was made public. Sometimes he would join the consuls when they were trying cases and he showed them honour at the horse-races. When he returned home he was wont to be carried in a litter, in order not to trouble anyone to accompany him. On the days that were neither sacred nor suitable for public business[1] he remained at home, and admitted no one, even so much as just to greet him, unless it were on some urgent matter; this was in order to spare people a troublesome duty. Both in Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him, and he used to join them at banquets and for this reason often took three others into his carriage. He went hunting as often as possible, and he breakfasted without wine; he used to eat a good deal, and often in the midst of trying a case he would partake of food; later he would dine in the company of all the foremost and best men, and their meal together was the occasion for all kinds of discussions. When his friends were very ill, he would visit them, and he would attend their festivals, and was glad to stay at their country seats and their town houses. Hence he also placed in the Forum images of many when they were dead and of many while they were still alive. No one of

[1] In other words, on the *dies religiosi*, the unlucky days of the Roman calendar.

τις αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἀπέδοτό τι οὔθ' ὧν ἔλεγεν οὔθ' ὧν ἔπραττεν, οἷα οἵ τε Καισάρειοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας ἔχοντες ποιεῖν εἰώθασι.

8,1[1] Ταῦτα περί γε[1] τοῦ τρόπου, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, προείρηκα· λέξω[2] δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅσα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μνημονεύεσθαι.—Xiph. 245, 6–246, 8 R. St., Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 107 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 8–13 Dind.).

1a "Οτι Ἀλεξανδρέων στασιασάντων οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπαύσαντο, ἕως οὗ ἐπιστολὴν Ἀδριανοῦ ἐδέξαντο ἐπιτιμῶσαν αὐτοῖς· οὕτω που πλέον ἰσχύσει αὐτοκράτορος λόγος τῶν ὅπλων.—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 108 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 14–17 Dind.).

1[2] Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφῆκε τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τῷ τε βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἑκκαιδεκαετῆ ὁρίσας χρόνον ἀφ' οὗ τε
2 καὶ μέχρις οὗ τηρηθήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν. ἔν τε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενεθλίοις προῖκα τῷ δήμῳ τὴν θέαν ἀπένειμε καὶ θηρία πολλὰ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστε ἐφάπαξ καὶ λέοντας ἑκατὸν καὶ λεαίνας ἴσας πεσεῖν, καὶ δῶρα διὰ σφαιρίων καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ χωρὶς μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι χωρὶς δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ διέρριψε. καὶ γὰρ καὶ[3] λοῦσθαι[4] χωρὶς ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν.
3 ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ

[1] γε St., τε VC.
[2] λέξω Sylb., λέγω VC.
[3] καὶ supplied by H. Steph.
[4] λοῦσθαι Dind., λούεσθαι VC.

[1] Literally, sixteen years, reckoning inclusively. It has been argued that Hadrian at this time provided for a general

his associates, moreover, displayed insolence or took A.D. 117
money for divulging anything that Hadrian either said or did, as the freedmen and other attendants in the suite of emperors are accustomed to do.

This is a kind of preface, of a summary nature, that I have been giving in regard to his character. I shall also relate in detail all the events that require mention.

The Alexandrians had been rioting, and nothing would make them stop until they received a letter from Hadrian rebuking them. So true is it that an emperor's word will have more force than arms.

On coming to Rome he cancelled the debts that A.D. 118
were owing to the imperial treasury and to the public treasury of the Romans, fixing a period of fifteen [1] years from the first to the last of which this
remission was to apply. On his birthday he gave A.D. 119
the usual spectacle free to the people and slew many wild beasts, so that one hundred lions, for example, and a like number of lionesses fell on this single occasion. He also distributed gifts by means of little balls [2] which he threw broadcast both in the theatres and in the Circus, for the men and for the women separately. And further, he also commanded them to bathe separately. Besides these events of

revision of the tax lists every fifteen years (so Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* II³, 1015, 4). The next recorded instance, however, of anything of the sort is from the year 178 (*inf.* lxxi. 32, 2), when Marcus Aurelius cancelled all the arrears for the preceding forty-five years, "in addition to the fifteen years of Hadrian." Hadrian's action, moreover, probably applied only to the taxes due to the *fiscus* (so the *Vita Hadriani*, 7, 6), and not to both treasuries, as Dio states.

[2] Cf. lxii (lxi). 18, lxvi. 25.

Εὐφράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπέθανεν ἐθελοντής, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ κώνειον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον πιεῖν.

9 Ἁδριανὸς δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης διαπορευόμενος ἐπαρχίαν, τάς τε χώρας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεπτόμενος, καὶ πάντα τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰ τείχη περισκοπῶν τὰ μὲν ἐς ἐπικαιροτέρους[1] τόπους μεθίστη, τὰ δὲ ἔπαυε, τὰ δὲ προσκαθί-
2 στατο, αὐτὸς πάντα ἁπλῶς, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ κοινὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅπλα λέγω καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ τάφρους καὶ περιβόλους καὶ χαρακώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἑνὸς ἑκάστου, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, τοὺς βίους τὰς οἰκήσεις τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ἐφορῶν καὶ ἐξετάζων· καὶ πολλά γε ἐς τὸ ἁβρότερον ἐκδεδιῃτημένα καὶ κατεσκευασμένα καὶ μετερρύθ-
3 μισε καὶ μετεσκεύασεν.[2] ἐγύμναζέ τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος μάχης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δὲ ἐνουθέτει, πάντας δὲ ἐδίδασκεν ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ὠφελοῖντο, σκληρᾷ τε πανταχοῦ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἐβάδιζεν ἢ καὶ ἵππευε πάντα, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὁπότε εἴτε ὀχή-
4 ματος τότε γε εἴτε[3] τετρακύκλου ἐπέβη· οὐδὲ[4] τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἐν θάλπει, οὐκ ἐν ῥίγει ἐκαλύφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χιόσι ταῖς Κελτικαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς γυμνῇ αὐτῇ περιῄει. συνελόντι τε εἰπεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασι πᾶν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤσκησε καὶ κατεκόσμησεν ὥστε

[1] ἐπικαιροτέρους Bk., ἐπικαιροτάτους VC.
[2] μετεσκεύασεν Sylb., μετέσκαψεν VC.

that year, Euphrates, the philosopher, died a death A.D. 119
of his own choosing, since Hadrian permitted him to drink hemlock in consideration of his extreme age and his malady.

Hadrian travelled through one province after A.D. 121
another, visiting the various regions and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts. Some of these he removed to more desirable places, some he abolished, and he also established some new ones. He personally viewed and investigated absolutely everything, not merely the usual appurtenances of camps, such as weapons, engines, trenches, ramparts and palisades, but also the private affairs of every one, both of the men serving in the ranks and of the officers themselves,—their lives, their quarters and their habits,—and he reformed and corrected in many cases practices and arrangements for living that had become too luxurious. He drilled the men for every kind of battle, honouring some and reproving others, and he taught them all what should be done. And in order that they should be benefited by observing him, he everywhere led a rigorous life and either walked or rode on horseback on all occasions, never once at this period setting foot in either a chariot or a four-wheeled vehicle. He covered his head neither in hot weather nor in cold, but alike amid German snows and under scorching Egyptian suns he went about with his head bare. In fine, both by his example and by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even

[3] εἴτε—εἴτε Bs., οὔτε—οὔτε VC.
[4] οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε VC.

καὶ νῦν τὰ τότε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα[1] νόμον σφίσι
5 *τῆς στρατείας εἶναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πλεῖστον πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους διεγένετο· τήν τε γὰρ παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ὁρῶντες, καὶ μήτε τι ἀδικούμενοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρή-*
6 *ματα λαμβάνοντες, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχμωσαν. οὕτω γὰρ καλῶς ἤσκητο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τῶν καλουμένων Βατάουων[2] τὸν Ἴστρον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων διενήξαντο. ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους κατεπλήττοντο, τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ[3] σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ διαιτητῇ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν.*

10 *Ἐποίει δὲ καὶ θέατρα καὶ ἀγῶνας, περιπορευόμενος τὰς πόλεις, ἄνευ τῆς βασιλικῆς μέντοι παρασκευῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐχρήσατό ποτε αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ πατρίδα καίπερ μεγάλα τιμήσας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα αὐτῇ δούς,*
2 *ὅμως οὐκ εἶδε. περὶ μέντοι τὰς θήρας ἐσπουδακέναι λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἐν ταύταις κατέαξε καὶ τὸ σκέλος μικροῦ ἐπηρώθη, καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ οἰκίσας Ἀδριανοῦ θήρας αὐτὴν ὠνόμασεν. οὐ μέντοι τι παρὰ τοῦτ' ἄπρακτον τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόντων κατέλιπε. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς θήρας σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Βορυσθένης ὁ ἵππος, ᾧ μάλιστα θηρῶν ἠρέσκετο, σημεῖόν ἐστιν· ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε καὶ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐπιγράμματα*
3[1] *ἐπέγραψεν. ὅθεν οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὴν Πλωτῖναν ἀποθανοῦσαν, δι' ἧς ἔτυχε τῆς ἀρχῆς*

[1] *ταχθέντα* Sylb., *ἀχθέντα* VC.
[2] *Βατάουων* Suid., *βαστάων* VC.

to-day the methods then introduced by him are the soldiers' law of campaigning. This best explains why he lived for the most part at peace with foreign nations; for as they saw his state of preparation and were themselves not only free from aggression but received money besides, they made no uprising. So excellently, indeed, had his soldiery been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms. Seeing all this, the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, and turning their attention to their own affairs, they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences. A.D. 121

He also constructed theatres and held games as he travelled about from city to city, dispensing, however, with the imperial trappings; for he never used these outside Rome. And yet he did not see his native land,[1] though he showed it great honour and bestowed many splendid gifts upon it. He is said to have been enthusiastic about hunting. Indeed, he broke his collar-bone at this pursuit and came near getting his leg maimed; and to a city that he founded A.D. 124
in Mysia he gave the name of Hadrianotherae.[2] However, he did not neglect any of the duties of his office because of this pastime. Some light is thrown upon his passion for hunting by what he did for his steed Borysthenes, which was his favourite horse for the chase; when the animal died, he prepared a tomb for him, set up a slab and placed an inscription upon it. It is not strange, then, that upon the death of Plotina, the woman through whom he had secured

[1] See note on ch. 1.
[2] *i.e.*, Hadrian's Hunts (or Hunting Grounds).

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[3] ἐπὶ St., περὶ VC.

ἐρώσης αὐτοῦ, διαφερόντως ἐτίμησεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα μελανειμονῆσαι καὶ ναὸν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ ὕμνους τινὰς ἐς αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι. —Xiph. 246, 8–247, 28 R. St.

3[a] Ὅτι τῆς Πλωτίνης[1] ἀποθανούσης ἐπῄνει αὐτὴν Ἀδριανός, λέγων ὅτι "πολλὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτήσασα οὐδενὸς ἀπέτυχεν." τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι "τοιαῦτα ᾔτει οἷα οὔτε ἐβάρει με οὔτε[2] συνεχώρει ἀντειπεῖν."—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 109 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 18–21 Dind.).

3[2] Οὕτω δὲ περὶ τὴν θήραν ἐπιδέξιος ἦν ὡς καὶ μέγαν ποτὲ σῦν μιᾷ πληγῇ καθελεῖν.

11 Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπώπτευσε τὰ μυστήρια.

Διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Αἴγυπτον παριὼν καὶ ἐνήγισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ· πρὸς ὃν καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ἔπος ἀπορρῖψαι λέγεται

τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου.

καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένον ἀνῳκοδόμησεν.
2 ἐν δὲ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὴν Ἀντινόου ὠνομασμένην ἀνῳκοδόμησε πόλιν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίνοος ἦν μὲν ἐκ Βιθυνίου πόλεως Βιθυνίδος, ἣν καὶ Κλαυδιούπολιν καλοῦμεν, παιδικὰ δὲ[3] αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, εἴτ' οὖν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκπεσών, ὡς Ἁδριανὸς γράφει, εἴτε καὶ
3 ἱερουργηθείς, ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότατος Ἁδριανός, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντείαις μαγγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἐχρῆτο.

[1] Πλωτίνης Dind., πλουτίνης cod.
[2] οὔτε—οὔτε Dind., οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ cod.

the imperial office because of her love for him, he A.D. 124
honoured her exceedingly, wearing black for nine days, erecting a temple to her and composing some hymns in her memory.

When Plotina died, Hadrian praised her, saying: "Though she asked much of me, she was never refused anything." By this he simply meant to say: "Her requests were of such a character that they neither burdened me nor afforded me any justification for opposing them."

He was so skilful in the chase that he once brought down a huge boar with a single blow.

On coming to Greece he was admitted to the A.D. 128
highest grade at the Mysteries.[1]

After this he passed through Judaea into Egypt A.D. 130
and offered sacrifice to Pompey, concerning whom he is said to have uttered this verse:

"Strange lack of tomb for one with shrines o'erwhelmed!"

And he restored his monument, which had fallen in ruin. In Egypt also he rebuilt the city named henceforth for Antinous.[2] Antinous was from Bithynium, a city of Bithynia, which we also call Claudiopolis; he had been a favourite of the emperor and had died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as Hadrian writes, or, as the truth is, by being offered in sacrifice. For Hadrian, as I have stated, was always very curious and employed divinations and incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honoured

[1] The Eleusinian Mysteries.
[2] Antinoöpolis.

[3] δὲ Bk., τε VC cod. Peir.

καὶ οὕτω γε τὸν Ἀντίνοον, ἤτοι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα
αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅτι ἐθελοντὴς ἐθανατώθη (ἑκουσίου γὰρ
ψυχῆς πρὸς ἃ ἔπραττεν ἐδεῖτο), ἐτίμησεν ὡς [1] καὶ
πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε, καὶ συνοικί-
4 σαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐκείνου ἀνδριάν-
τας ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ
ἀγάλματα, ἀνέθηκε. καὶ τέλος ἀστέρα τινὰ αὐτός
τε ὁρᾶν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀντινόου ὄντα ἔλεγε καὶ τῶν
συνόντων οἱ [2] μυθολογούντων ἡδέως ἤκουεν ἔκ τε
τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ Ἀντινόου ὄντως τὸν ἀστέρα γε-
γενῆσθαι καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀναπεφηνέναι. διὰ
ταῦτά τε [3] οὖν ἐσκώπτετο, καὶ ὅτι Παυλίνῃ τῇ
ἀδελφῇ ἀποθανούσῃ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδεμίαν
τιμὴν ἔνειμεν . . .—Xiph. 247, 28–248, 17 R. St.,
Exc. Val. 295 (p. 714), cf. Suid. *s.vv.* Ἀδριανός
(*gl.* 5), παιδικά.

12 Ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς
κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Κα-
πιτωλῖναν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος
2 οὔτε μικρὸς οὔτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη. Ἰουδαῖοι
γὰρ δεινόν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς
τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια
ἐν αὐτῇ ἱδρυθῆναι, παρόντος μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Αἰ-
γύπτῳ καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ
ἡσύχαζον, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὰ ὅπλα τὰ ἐπιτα-
χθέντα σφίσιν ἧττον ἐπιτήδεια ἐξεπίτηδες κατε-
σκεύασαν ὡς ἀποδοκιμασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων
χρήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρω ἐγένετο, φανερῶς ἀπέ-
3 στησαν. καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερᾷ οὐκ ἐτόλμων

[1] ἐτίμησεν ὡς VC, ἐφίλησεν ὥστε cod. Peir.
[2] οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ VC.

Antinous, either because of his love for him or A.D. 130
because the youth had voluntarily undertaken to die (it being necessary that a life should be surrendered freely for the accomplishment of the ends Hadrian had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had suffered this fate and naming it after him; and he also set up statues, or rather sacred images of him, practically all over the world. Finally, he declared that he had seen a star which he took to be that of Antinous, and gladly lent an ear to the fictitious tales woven by his associates to the effect that the star had really come into being from the spirit of Antinous and had then appeared for the first time. On this account, then, he became the object of some ridicule, and also because at the death of his sister Paulina he had not immediately paid her any honour . . .

At Jerusalem he founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there. So A.D. 131
long, indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject them and they themselves might thus have the use of them; but when he went farther away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the

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[3] τε cod. Peir., μὲν VC.

διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπίκαιρα κατελάμβανον καὶ ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἐκρατύνοντο, ὅπως ἀναφυγάς τε ὁπόταν βιασθῶσιν ἔχωσι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ γῆν διαφοιτῶντες λανθάνωσι, διατιτράντες ἄνω τὰς ὑπογείους ὁδοὺς ἵνα καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ φέγγος ἐσδέχοιντο.

13 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν οὐδενὶ αὐτοὺς λόγῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποιοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἥ τε Ἰουδαία πᾶσα ἐκεκίνητο,[1] καὶ οἱ ἁπανταχοῦ[2] γῆς Ἰουδαῖοι συνεταράττοντο καὶ συνῄεσαν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ μὲν λάθρᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ
2 φανερῶς ἐνεδείκνυντο, πολλοί τε ἄλλοι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐπιθυμίᾳ κέρδους σφίσι συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν κινουμένης ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, τότε δὴ τότε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὧν πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Σεουῆρος ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους στα-
3 λείς. ὃς ἄντικρυς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν αὐτῶν ὁρῶν· ἀπολαμβάνων δ' ὡς ἑκάστους πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων, καὶ τροφῆς ἀπείργων καὶ κατακλείων, ἠδυνήθη βραδύτερον μὲν ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ κατατρῖψαι καὶ ἐκτρυχῶσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι αὐτούς.
14 ὀλίγοι γοῦν[3] κομιδῇ περιεγένοντο. καὶ φρούρια μὲν αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τά γε ἀξιολογώτατα, κῶμαι δὲ ἐνακόσιαι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε

[1] ἐκεκίνητο St., κεκίνητο VC.
[2] ἁπανταχοῦ C Zon., πανταχοῦ V.
[3] γοῦν Bk., δ' οὖν VC.

Romans in the open field, but they occupied A.D. 131
the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

At first the Romans took no account of them. Soon, however, all Judaea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts; many outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, one might almost say, was being stirred up over the matter. Then, indeed, A.D. 132 (?)
Hadrian sent against them his best generals. First of these was Julius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain, where he was governor, against the Jews. Severus did not venture to attack his opponents in the open at any one point, in view of their numbers and their desperation, but by intercepting small groups, thanks to the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them in fact survived. Fifty of their most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were

ὀνομαστόταται κατεσκάφησαν,[1] ἄνδρες δὲ ὀκτὼ
καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδες ἐσφάγησαν ἔν τε ταῖς
καταδρομαῖς καὶ ταῖς μάχαις (τῶν τε γὰρ λιμῷ
καὶ νόσῳ καὶ πυρὶ φθαρέντων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεξε-
2 ρεύνητον ἦν), ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν
Ἰουδαίαν ἐρημωθῆναι, καθάπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ
πολέμου αὐτοῖς προεδείχθη· τὸ γὰρ μνημεῖον τοῦ
Σολομῶντος, ὃ [2] ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίοις οὗτοι ἄγουσιν,
ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε, καὶ
λύκοι ὕαιναί τε πολλαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν
3 ἐσέπιπτον ὠρυόμεναι. πολλοὶ μέντοι ἐν τῷ
πολέμῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο·
διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἁδριανὸς γράφων πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν
οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ τῷ συνήθει τοῖς
αὐτοκράτορσιν, ὅτι "εἰ αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες
ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνετε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ στρατεύ-
ματα ὑγιαίνομεν."
4 Τὸν δὲ Σεουῆρον ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἔπεμψεν, ὅπλων
μὲν οὐδέν, ἄρχοντος δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάτου καὶ
δικαίου καὶ φρονίμου καὶ ἀξίωμα ἔχοντος δεο-
μένην· ἃ πάντα ἐν [3] ἐκείνῳ ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν διήγαγε
καὶ διῴκησε καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ αὐτῶν
οὕτως ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς δεῦρο ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ μνημο-
νεύειν, τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ ἡ Παμφυλία
ἀντὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐδόθη.—Xiph. 248, 17–249,
27 + 251, 24–27 R. St., Exc. Val. 296 (p.
714).

15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται [4]) ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου, καὶ

[1] κατεσκάφησαν Zon., κατεστράφησαν VC.
[2] ὃ Rk., ὃν VC.

razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out. Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, which the Jews regard as an object of veneration, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities. Many Romans, moreover, perished in this war. Therefore Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors, "If you and your children are in health, it is well; I and the legions are in health." A.D. 132 (?)

He sent Severus[1] into Bithynia, which needed no armed force but a governor and leader who was just and prudent and a man of rank. All these qualifications Severus possessed. And he managed and administered both their private and their public affairs in such a manner that we[2] are still, even today, wont to remember him. Pamphylia, in place of Bithynia, was given to the senate and made assignable by lot. A.D. 134 (?)

This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews. A second war was begun by the Alani (they are Massagetae) at the instigation of Pharasmanes. It

[1] Not the same person as is mentioned in the previous chapter.
[2] *i.e.*, "we natives of Bithynia" (Dio's country).

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[3] ἐν cod. Peir., om. VC.
[4] Μασσαγέται Zon., μασαγέται VC (μεσσαγέτων U^RV, μεσαγέτων U^RBM).

τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν[1] ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἁψάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀλανῶν τὰ μὲν δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάουιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο.[2]—Xiph. 251, 27–252, 1 R. St., Exc. U^{R} 17 (p. 414).

2 Ὅτι πρεσβευτὰς πεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου[3] καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἰαζύγων, ἐκείνου μὲν κατηγοροῦντός τινα Φαρασμάνου, τούτων δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστουμένων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι ἐπιτραπεὶς συνέγραψέ τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἀνέγνω σφίσιν. —Exc. U^{G} 55 (p. 407).

16 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τό τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἵδρυται, ἐξεποίησε, καὶ δράκοντα ἐς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας κομισθέντα ἀνέθηκε· τά τε Διονύσια, τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν ἄρξας, ἐν τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε.
2 τόν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὠνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο, χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ σῖτον ἐτήσιον τήν τε Κεφαλληνίαν ὅλην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐχαρίσατο. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλά, καὶ ἵνα μηδεὶς βουλευτὴς μήτ' αὐτὸς μήτε δι' ἑτέρου τέλος τι

[1] τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν Bs., καὶ τὴν ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν μημίδα VBM (μηδίαν m^{2} in marg. V), τὴν μὲν Μηδίαν VC.

[2] ἐπαύσατο Zon., ἐπαύσαντο VC U^{R}.

[3] Οὐολογαίσου Reim., βολογαίσου MSS.

caused dire injury to the Albanian territory and Media, and then involved Armenia and Cappadocia; after which, as the Alani were not only persuaded by gifts from Vologaesus but also stood in dread of Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia, it came to a stop. A.D. 134 (?)

Envoys[1] were sent from Vologaesus and from the Iazyges; the former made some charges against Pharasmanes and the latter wished to confirm the peace. He[2] introduced them to the senate and was empowered by that body to return appropriate answers; and these he accordingly prepared and read to them.

Hadrian completed the Olympieum at Athens, in which his own statue also stands, and dedicated there a serpent, which had been brought from India. He also presided at the Dionysia, first assuming the highest office among the Athenians,[3] and arrayed in the local costume, carried it through brilliantly. He allowed the Greeks to build in his honour the shrine which was named the Panhellenium, and instituted a series of games[4] in connection with it; and he granted to the Athenians large sums of money, an annual dole of grain, and the whole of Cephallenia. Among numerous laws that he enacted was one to the effect that no senator, either personally or through the agency of another, should

[1] This fragment is evidently out of place here, but its proper position is uncertain; like the next fragment in Ursinus' collection (p. 470) it may belong to the reign of Pius.

[2] The subject is wanting; if it was Hadrian, the passage belongs to a period when he was in Rome.

[3] The office of archon eponymus.

[4] The Panhellenic Games.

3 μισθῶται. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθών, ἐπεὶ ἔν τινι[1]
θέᾳ βοῶν ὁ δῆμος ἁρματηλάτην τινὰ ἐλευθε-
ρωθῆναι ἐδεῖτο, ἀντεῖπε διὰ πινακίου γραφῆς,
εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ προσήκει ὑμῖν οὔτε παρ' ἐμοῦ
αἰτεῖν ἵνα ἀλλότριον δοῦλον ἐλευθερώσω, οὔτε
τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ βιάζεσθαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι."
17 Ἀρξάμενος δὲ νοσεῖν (αἷμα γὰρ εἰώθει μὲν
αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον διὰ τῆς ῥινὸς προχεῖσθαι,
τότε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπλεόνασεν) ἀπεγνώσθη μὲν
βιώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κόμμοδον[2] μὲν Λούκιον,
καίτοι αἷμα ἐμοῦντα, Καίσαρα Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέ-
δειξε, Σερουιανὸν[3] δὲ καὶ Φοῦσκον τὸν ἔγγονον
αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφό-
νευσε, τὸν μὲν ἐνενηκοντούτην ὄντα τὸν δὲ
2 ὀκτωκαιδεκέτην. πρὶν δὲ ἀποσφαγῆναι, ὁ Σερ-
ουιανὸς[3] πῦρ ᾔτησε, καὶ θυμιῶν ἅμα "ὅτι
μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ" ἔφη "ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοί, ἴστε· περὶ
δὲ Ἁδριανοῦ τοσοῦτον μόνον εὔχομαι, ἵνα ἐπι-
θυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν μὴ δυνηθῇ." καὶ μέντοι καὶ
διετέλεσεν Ἁδριανὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον νοσῶν, πολ-
λάκις μὲν ἀποσβῆναι εὐξάμενος, πολλάκις δὲ
3 καὶ ἀποκτανεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐθελήσας. ἔστι γε
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνδεικνυμένη,
ὅσον κακόν ἐστιν ἐπιθυμοῦντά τινα ἀποθανεῖν
μὴ δύνασθαι. τὸν δὲ Σερουιανὸν τοῦτον Ἁδρια-
νὸς[4] καὶ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἄξιον ἐνόμισεν εἶναι·
εἰπὼν γοῦν ποτε ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῖς φίλοις ἵνα
αὐτῷ δέκα ἄνδρας μοναρχεῖν δυναμένους ὀνο-

[1] τινι Sylb., τε VC.
[2] Κόμμοδον R. Steph. (κόμμοδος cod. Peir.), κόμοδον VC Zon.

have any tax farmed out to him. After he had A.D. 134
returned to Rome, the crowd at a spectacle shouted their request for the emancipation of a certain charioteer; but he replied in writing on a bulletin-board: "It is not right for you either to ask me to free another's slave or to force his master to do so."

He now began to be sick; for he had been subject A.D. 136
even before this to a flow of blood from the nostrils, and at this time it became distinctly more copious. He therefore despaired of his life, and on this account appointed Lucius Commodus to be Caesar for the Romans, although this man frequently vomited blood. Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, the former a nonagenarian and the latter eighteen years of age, were put to death on the ground that they were displeased at this action. Servianus before being executed asked for fire, and as he offered incense he exclaimed: "That I am guilty of no wrong, ye, O Gods, are well aware; as for Hadrian, this is my only prayer, that he may long for death but be unable to die." And, indeed, Hadrian did linger on a long time in his illness, and often prayed that he might expire, and often desired to kill himself. There is, indeed, a letter of his in existence which gives proof of precisely this—how dreadful it is to long for death and yet be unable to die. This Servianus had been regarded by Hadrian as capable of filling even the imperial office. For instance, Hadrian had once at a banquet told his friends to name him ten men who were competent to be sole ruler, and then, after a

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[3] *Σερουιανὸν—Σερουιανὸς* Reim., *σεβηριανὸν—σεβηριανὸς* VC *σευηριανὸν—σευηριανὸς* Zon.

[4] *Ἀδριανὸς* Reim., *ὁ τραιανὸς* VC.

μάσωσιν, εἶτ' ὀλίγον ἐπισχὼν ἔφη ὅτι "ἐννέα δέομαι μαθεῖν· τὸν γὰρ ἕνα, τοῦτ' ἔστι Σερουιανόν, ἔχω."—Xiph. 252, 1–30 R. St.

18 Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τότε ἄριστοι ἄνδρες, ὧν ἐπιφανέστατοι Τούρβων τε καὶ Σίμιλις ἤστην, οἳ καὶ ἀνδριᾶσιν ἐτιμήθησαν, Τούρβων μὲν στρατηγικώτατος ἀνήρ, ὃς καὶ ἔπαρχος γεγονώς, εἴτ' οὖν ἄρχων τῶν δορυφόρων, οὔτε τι ἁβρὸν οὔτε τι ὑπερήφανον ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς
2 εἷς τῶν πολλῶν διεβίω. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ[1] διέτριβε, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸ μέσων νυκτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸ[2] ᾔει, ὅτε τινὲς τῶν ἄλλων καθεύδειν ἤρχοντο.
3 ἀμέλει καὶ Κορνήλιος Φρόντων ὁ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερόμενος, ἑσπέρας ποτὲ βαθείας ἀπὸ δείπνου οἴκαδε ἐπανιών, καὶ μαθὼν παρά τινος ᾧ συνηγορήσειν ὑπέσχετο δικάζειν αὐτὸν ἤδη, ἔν τε τῇ στολῇ τῇ δειπνίτιδι, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἠσπάσατο, οὔτι γε τῷ ἑωθινῷ προσρήματι τῷ χαῖρε, ἀλλὰ
4 τῷ ἑσπερινῷ τῷ ὑγίαινε χρησάμενος. οἴκοι δὲ ὁ Τούρβων οὔποτε ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ νοσήσας, ὤφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανὸν συμβουλεύοντα αὐτῷ ἀτρεμῆσαι[3] εἶπεν ὅτι "τὸν ἔπαρχον ἑστῶτα ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ."

19 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σίμιλις ἡλικίᾳ μὲν καὶ τάξει προήκων αὐτοῦ[4] ἐν τρόποις οὐδενὸς τῶν πάνυ, ὥς γε ἐγὼ νομίζω, δεύτερος ἦν. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὀλιγιστῶν[5]

[1] πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ cod. Peir., πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα VC Zon.
[2] αὐτὸ VC, αὐτὸν cod. Peir.
[3] ἀτρεμῆσαι Sylb., ἀτρεμήσειν VC Zon.
[4] αὐτοῦ cod. Peir. Zon., αὐτῶν VC.

moment's pause, had added: "Nine only I want to know; for one I have already—Servianus." A.D. 136

Other excellent men, also, came to light during that period, of whom the most distinguished were Turbo and Similis, who, indeed, were honoured with statues. Turbo was a man of the greatest generalship and had become prefect, or commander[1] of the Praetorians. He displayed neither effeminacy nor haughtiness in anything that he did, but lived like one of the multitude; among other things, he spent the entire day near the palace and often he would go there even before midnight, when some of the others were just beginning to sleep. In this connexion the following anecdote is related of Cornelius Fronto, who was the foremost Roman of the time in pleading before the courts. One night he was returning home from dinner very late, and ascertained from a man whose counsel he had promised to be that Turbo was already holding court. Accordingly, just as he was, in his dinner dress, he went into Turbo's court-room and greeted him, not with the morning salutation, *Salve*, but with the one appropriate to the evening, *Vale*. Turbo was never seen at home in the day-time, even when he was sick; and to Hadrian, who advised him to remain quiet, he replied: "The prefect ought to die on his feet."

Similis was of more advanced years and rank than Turbo, and in character was second to none of the great men, in my opinion. This may be inferred

[1] This explanation is due to the excerptor.

[5] ὀλιγιστῶν cod. Peir., ὀλιγοστῶν VC.

τεκμήρασθαι. τῷ τε γὰρ Τραϊανῷ ἑκατονταρχοῦντα ἔτι αὐτὸν ἐσκαλέσαντί ποτε εἴσω πρὸ τῶν ἐπάρχων ἔφη "αἰσχρόν ἐστι, Καῖσαρ, ἑκατοντάρχῳ σε τῶν ἐπάρχων ἔξω ἑστηκότων
2 *διαλέγεσθαι," καὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχὴν ἄκων τε ἔλαβε καὶ λαβὼν ἐξίστατο, μόλις τε ἀφεθεὶς ἐν ἀγρῷ ἥσυχος ἑπτὰ ἔτη τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου διήγαγε, καὶ ἐπί γε τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ*[1] *τοῦτο ἐπέγραψεν ὅτι "Σίμιλις*[2] *ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιοὺς μὲν ἔτη τόσα,*[3] *ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἑπτά."*—Xiph. 252, 30–253, 23 R. St., Exc. Val. 297, 298, 299.

23, 4 *Ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος Ἰούλιος μὴ φέρων τὴν τοῦ υἱέος μαλακίαν, ῥῖψαι ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἠθέλησεν.*—Exc. Val. 300 (p. 714).

20 *Ἁδριανὸς δὲ φθόῃ τε ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὑδρωπίασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τὸν Κόμμοδον ἐξαίφνης ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πολλοῦ τε καὶ ἀθρόου ἐκπεσόντος, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ ἀξιολόγους τῶν βουλευτῶν οἴκαδε, καὶ κατακείμενος εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*
2 *τάδε· "ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, γόνον μὲν οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις ποιήσασθαι, νόμῳ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐδώκατε. διαφέρει δὲ τοῦτο ἐκείνου, ὅτι τὸ μὲν γεννώμενον, ὁποῖον ἂν δόξῃ τῷ δαιμονίῳ, γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ δὴ ποιούμενον αὐθαίρετόν τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ προστί-*
3 *θεται, ὥστε παρὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάπηρον καὶ ἄφρονα πολλάκις δίδοσθαί τινι, παρὰ δὲ τῆς*

[1] *αὐτοῦ* Sylb., *αὑτοῦ* VC cod. Peir.
[2] *Σίμιλις* cod. Peir., *σίμιλις μὲν* VC.
[3] *τόσα* VC Zon. cod. Peir. Leo, *πεντήκοντα* exc. Vat. exc. Salm., *ξ'* cod. Paris. 1712.

even from incidents that are very trivial. For instance when Trajan once summoned him, while he was still a centurion, to enter his presence ahead of the prefects, he said: "It is a shame, Caesar, that you should be talking with a centurion while the prefects stand outside." Moreover, he assumed the command of the Praetorians reluctantly, and after assuming it resigned it. Having with difficulty secured his release, he spent the rest of his life, seven years, quietly in the country, and upon his tomb he caused this inscription to be placed: "Here lies Similis, who existed so-and-so many years, and lived seven." A.D. 136

Julius Fabius,[1] not being able to endure his son's effeminacy, desired to throw himself into the river.

Hadrian became consumptive as a result of his great loss of blood, and this led to dropsy. And as it happened that Lucius Commodus was suddenly carried off by a severe hæmorrhage, the emperor convened at his house the most prominent and most respected of the senators; and lying there upon his couch, he spoke to them as follows: "I, my friends, have not been permitted by nature to have a son, but you have made it possible by legal enactment. Now there is this difference between the two methods—that a begotten son turns out to be whatever sort of person Heaven pleases, whereas one that is adopted a man takes to himself as the result of a deliberate selection. Thus by the process of nature a maimed and witless child is often given to a parent, but by A.D. 138

[1] The name is perhaps corrupt; so Dessau, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* ii. p. 47, No. 31.

κρίσεως καὶ ἀρτιμελῆ καὶ ἀρτίνουν πάντως αἱρεῖσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρότερον μὲν τὸν Λούκιον ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐξελεξάμην, οἷον οὐδ' ἂν
4 εὔξασθαι παῖδα ἠδυνήθην ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡμῶν ἀφείλετο, εὗρον ἀντ' ἐκείνου αὐτοκράτορα ὑμῖν, ὃν δίδωμι, εὐγενῆ πρᾷον εὔεικτον[1] φρόνιμον, μήθ' ὑπὸ νεότητος προπετὲς μήθ' ὑπὸ γήρως ἀμελὲς ποιῆσαί τι δυνάμενον, ἠγμένον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἡγεμονευκότα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὥστε μήτε τι ἀγνοεῖν τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν φερόντων καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς
5 δύνασθαι χρήσασθαι. λέγω δὲ Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον τουτονί· ὃν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οἶδα ἀπραγμονέστατόν τε ἀνδρῶν ὄντα καὶ πόρρω τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας καθεστηκότα, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἀφροντιστήσειν οἴομαι οὔτε ἐμοῦ οὔτε ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποδέξεσθαι."[2]

21 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἄπαις ἀρρένων παίδων, τόν τε Κομμόδου υἱὸν Κόμμοδον ἐσεποίησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ Μᾶρκον Ἄννιον Οὐῆρον, βουληθεὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσοντας ἀποδεῖξαι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἄννιος ὁ[3] Μᾶρκος, ὁ Κατίλιος πρότερον ὀνομαζόμενος, Ἀννίου Οὐήρου τοῦ τρὶς ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολιαρχήσαντος[4]
2 ἔγγονος. καὶ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν ἐσποιήσασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐκέλευε, προετίμησε δὲ τὸν Οὐῆρον διά τε τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ὅτι φύσιν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτην ἤδη ὑπέ-

[1] εὔεικτον Zon., εὔοικτον VC.
[2] ὑποδέξεσθαι R. Steph., ὑποδέξασθαι VC.

process of selection one of sound body and sound A.D. 138
mind is certain to be chosen. For this reason I formerly selected Lucius before all others—a person such as I could never have expected a child of my own to become. But since Heaven has bereft us of him, I have found as emperor for you in his place the man whom I now give you, one who is noble, mild, tractable, prudent, neither young enough to do anything reckless nor old enough to neglect aught, one who has been brought up according to the laws and one who has exercised authority in accordance with our traditions, so that he is not ignorant of any matters pertaining to the imperial office, but can handle them all effectively. I refer to Aurelius Antoninus here. Although I know him to be the least inclined of men to become involved in affairs and to be far from desiring any such power, still I do not think that he will deliberately disregard either me or you, but will accept the office even against his will."

So it was that Antoninus became emperor. And since he had no male offspring, Hadrian adopted for him Commodus' son Commodus, and, in addition to him, Marcus Annius Verus; for he wished to appoint those who were afterwards to be emperors for as long a time ahead as possible. This Marcus Annius, earlier named Catilius, was a grandson of Annius Verus who had been consul thrice and prefect of the city. And though Hadrian kept urging Antoninus to adopt them both, yet he preferred Verus on account of his kinship and his age and because he was already giving indication of exceptional strength of character.

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[3] ὁ supplied by Bk.

[4] πολιαρχήσαντος Casaubon, χιλιαρχήσαντος VC Zon.

φαινεν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Οὐηρίσσιμον αὐτόν, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ[1] ῥήματος ἔννοιαν κομψευόμενος, ἀπεκάλει.

22 Ἁδριανὸς δὲ μαγγανείαις μέν τισι καὶ γοητείαις ἐκενοῦτό ποτε τοῦ ὑγροῦ, πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ ταχέος ἐπίμπλατο. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ ἐπεδίδου καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τρόπον τινὰ ἡμέραν ἀπώλλυτο, ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ᾔτει μὲν πολλάκις καὶ φάρμακον καὶ ξίφος,
2 ἐδίδου δὲ οὐδείς. ὡς δ' οὖν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ καίτοι χρήματα καὶ ἄδειαν ὑπισχνουμένῳ ὑπήκουε, μετεπέμψατο Μάστορα ἄνδρα βάρβαρον Ἰάζυγα, ᾧ αἰχμαλώτῳ γενομένῳ πρὸς τὰς θήρας διά τε ἰσχὺν καὶ δι' εὐτολμίαν ἐκέχρητο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος ἠνάγκασεν
3 αὐτὸν ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὴν σφαγήν. καί τι καὶ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸν μαστόν, πρὸς Ἑρμογένους τοῦ ἰατροῦ ὑποδειχθέν, χρώματί τινι περιέγραψεν, ὅπως κατ' αὐτὸ πληγεὶς καιρίαν ἀλύπως τελευτήσῃ. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν (ὁ γὰρ Μάστωρ φοβηθεὶς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπεχώρησε), πολλὰ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ὠδύρατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐκ
4 ἐξουσίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ οἷός τ' ἦν ἑαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι, καίτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἔτι καὶ τότε δυνάμενος· καὶ τέλος τῆς τε ἀκριβείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν ἀπέσχετο, καὶ ταῖς μὴ προσηκούσαις ἐδωδαῖς καὶ ποτοῖς χρώμενος ἐτελεύτησε, λέγων καὶ βοῶν τὸ δημῶδες, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλέα ἀπώλεσαν.

[1] Ῥωμαϊκοῦ R. Steph., ἑλληνικοῦ VC.

This led Hadrian to apply to the young man the name Verissimus, thus playing upon the meaning of the Latin word. A.D. 138

By certain charms and magic rites Hadrian would be relieved for a time of his dropsy, but would soon be filled with water again. Since, therefore, he was constantly growing worse and might be said to be dying day by day, he began to long for death; and often he would ask for poison or a sword, but no one would give them to him. As no one would listen to him, although he promised money and immunity, he sent for Mastor, one of the barbarian Iazyges, who had become a captive and had been employed by Hadrian in his hunting because of his strength and daring; and partly by threatening him and partly by making promises, he compelled the man to promise to kill him. He drew a coloured line about a spot beneath the nipple that had been shown him by Hermogenes, his physician, in order that he might there be struck a fatal blow and perish painlessly. But even this plan did not succeed, for Mastor became afraid of the business and drew back in terror. The emperor lamented bitterly the plight to which his malady and his helplessness had brought him, in that he was not able to make away with himself, though he still had the power, even when so near death, to destroy anybody else. Finally he abandoned his careful regimen and by indulging in unsuitable foods and drinks met his death, shouting aloud the popular saying: "Many physicians have slain a king."[1]

[1] Pliny, *N.H.* xxix. 1, cites this inscription from the grave of a certain man: "*turba se medicorum periisse*" (indirectly quoted).

23 Ἔζησε δὲ ἔτη μὲν δύο[1] καὶ ἑξήκοντα μῆνας δὲ πέντε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννεακαίδεκα, καὶ ἐμονάρχησεν ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἕνδεκα. ἐτάφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ, πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Αἰλίᾳ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μνῆμα κατεσκευάσατο. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπεπλήρωτο, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτέθη.—Xiph. 253, 23–255, 13 R. St.

2 Οὗτος ἐμισήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καίτοι τἆλλα ἄριστα αὐτῶν ἄρξας, διά τε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους φόνους ἅτε καὶ[2] ἀδίκως καὶ ἀνοσίως γενομένους, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε[3] ἥκιστα φονικὸς ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ προσκρουσάντων αὐτῷ τινων ἀρκοῦν νομίζειν τὸ ταῖς πατρίσιν αὐτῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράψαι, ὅτι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν.
3 εἴ τέ τινα τῶν τέκνα ἐχόντων ὀφλῆσαι πάντως τι ἔδει, ἀλλ' οὖν πρός γε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν παίδων καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐπεκούφιζεν. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ἡ γερουσία ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέσχε, τὰς τιμὰς μὴ ψηφίσασθαι ἐθέλουσα, καὶ αἰτιωμένη τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πλεονασάντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθέντων, οὓς καὶ κολασθῆναι ἔδει.—Xiph. 255, 14–19 R. St., Exc. Val. 301 (p. 714).

[1] μὲν δύο Bk., δύο μὲν VC.
[2] ἅτε καὶ Bs., ἅτε VC, καὶ cod. Peir.
[3] οὕτω γε cod. Peir., οὕτως VC.

He had lived sixty-two years, five months and nineteen[1] days, and had been emperor twenty years and eleven months. He was buried near the river itself, close to the Aelian bridge; for it was there that he had prepared his tomb, since the tomb of Augustus was full, and from this time no body was deposited in it. A.D. 138

Hadrian was hated by the people, in spite of his generally excellent reign, on account of the murders committed by him at the beginning and end of his reign, since they had been unjustly and impiously brought about. Yet he was so far from being of a bloodthirsty disposition that even in the case of some who clashed with him he thought it sufficient to write to their native places the bare statement that they did not please him. And if it was absolutely necessary to punish any man who had children, yet in proportion to the number of his children he would lighten the penalty imposed. Nevertheless, the senate persisted for a long time in its refusal to vote him the usual honours[2] and in its strictures upon some of those who had committed excesses during his reign and had been honoured therefor, when they ought to have been punished.

[1] Seventeen, according to the common tradition.
[2] *i.e.* deification.

FRAGMENT

Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ θάνατον Ἀδριανῷ τηλικοῦτον ἄγαλμα μετὰ τεθρίππου, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἑκάστου ἵππου παχύτατον ἄνδρα διιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἐν γῇ βαδίζοντες ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ κτίσματος αὐτούς τε [Mueller, δὲ cod.] *τοὺς ἵππους βραχυτάτους καὶ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν νομίζουσι.* —*Exc. Salm.* fr. 114 Muell. (p. 396, 23–27 Cram.).

FRAGMENT

After Hadrian's death there was erected to him a huge equestrian statue representing him with a four-horse chariot. It was so large that the bulkiest man could walk through the eye of each horse, yet because of the extreme height of the foundation persons passing along on the ground below believe that the horses themselves as well as Hadrian are very small.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXX

1 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ Δίωνος οὐχ εὑρίσκεται, παθόντων τι ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν βιβλίων, ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν σύμπασαν, πλὴν ὅτι τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου, ὃν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐποιήσατο, πρὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὗτος παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ ἐποιήθη καὶ
2 αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο (cf. 69, 20), καὶ ὅτι μὴ βουλομένης τῆς γερουσίας τὰς ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς δοῦναι τῷ Ἁδριανῷ τελευτήσαντι διά τινας φόνους ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν "οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἄρα ὑμῶν ἄρξω, εἴγε ἐκεῖνος καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑμῖν καὶ
3 πολέμιος ἐγένετο· πάντα γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἓν καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ποίησίς ἐστι, καταλύσετε." ἀκούσασα δὲ τοῦτο[1] ἡ γερουσία καὶ αἰδεσθεῖσα τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δέ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθεῖσα, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἁδριανῷ τὰς τιμάς.

2 Ταῦτα μόνα περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν τῷ Δίωνι σώζεται, καὶ ὅτι Αὔγουστον αὐτὸν καὶ Εὐσεβῆ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἐπωνόμασεν ἡ βουλή, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτοῦ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καί τινων καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἐξαιτηθέντων ὅμως οὐδένα ἐκόλασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ δεῖ με ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἔργων τῆς προστασίας ὑμῶν ἄρξασθαι." —Xiph. 256, 6–28 R. St.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXX

It should be noted that the account of Antoninus Pius is not found in the copies of Dio, probably because the books have met with some accident, so that the history of his reign is almost wholly unknown; save that when Lucius Commodus, whom Hadrian had adopted, died before Hadrian, Antoninus was both adopted by him and became emperor, and that when the senate demurred to giving divine honours to Hadrian after his death on account of certain murders of eminent men, Antoninus addressed many words to them with tears and lamentations, and finally said: "Well, then, I will not govern you either, if he has become in your eyes base and hostile and a public foe. For in that case you will, of course, soon annul all his acts, of which my adoption was one." On hearing this the senate, both through respect for the man and through a certain fear of the soldiers, bestowed the honours upon Hadrian.

Only this in regard to Antoninus is preserved in Dio; and also the fact that the senate gave him the titles both of Augustus and of Pius for some such reason as the following. When, in the beginning of his reign, accusation was brought against many men, some of whom were demanded by name for punishment, he nevertheless punished no one saying: "I must not begin my career as your leader with such deeds."

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[1] τοῦτο C, τούτων V.

LXIX 15, 3 Ὅτι Φαρασμάνῃ τῷ Ἴβηρι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐλθόντι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐπηύξησε καὶ θῦσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐφῆκεν, ἀνδριάντα τε ἐπὶ ἵππου ἐν τῷ Ἐνυείῳ ἔστησε, καὶ γυμνασίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ υἱέος τῶν τε ἄλλων πρώτων Ἰβήρων ἐν ὅπλοις εἶδεν.—Exc. U[G] 56 (p. 407).

2 Οὐ σώζεται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντωνῖνον ἄρξαντος Μάρκου Βήρου τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱστορουμένων, ὅσα περὶ τὸν Λούκιον τὸν τοῦ Κομόδου υἱόν, ὃν ὁ Μάρκος γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἔπραξεν οὗτος αὐτός, καὶ ὅσα οὗτος εἰς τὸν κατὰ Οὐολογαίσου πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ πεμφθεὶς ἔδρασε. διὸ βραχέα περὶ τούτων ἐξ ἑτέρων ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων ἐρῶ· εἶθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ Δίωνος μεταβήσομαι.

3 Ὁ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὑπηκόων τισὶ βαρὺς οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς ἐπαχθής, ἀλλὰ πολλήν τινα τούτοις νέμων αἰδώ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τιμῇ, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐτίμα
2 Χριστιανούς, προστιθείς. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἐπιστολάς τινας τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρατίθεται, ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνος δείκνυται τοῖς λυποῦσί τι ἢ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Χριστιανῶν δεινὰ ἀπειλῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπομνύμενος ὡς τεύξονται τιμωρίας.
3 λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ζητητικὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα τῆς ἀκριβολογίας ἀφίστασθαι· ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ σκώπτοντες καὶ κυμινοπρίστην ἐκάλουν. Κοδρᾶτος δὲ γηραιὸν μέν φησιν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν

When Pharasmanes the Iberian came to Rome with his wife, Antoninus increased his domain, allowed him to offer sacrifice on the Capitol, set up an equestrian statue in the temple of Bellona, and viewed an exercise in arms in which this chieftain, his son, and the other prominent Iberians took part.

Neither do we find preserved the first part of the account of Marcus Verus, who ruled after Antoninus—I mean his acts in relation to Lucius, the son of Commodus, whom Marcus had made his son-in-law, and the achievements of Lucius in the war against Vologaesus, to which he had been sent by his father-in-law. I shall touch briefly upon these matters, therefore, gathering my material from other books, and then I shall go back to the continuation of Dio's narrative.

Antoninus is admitted by all to have been noble and good, neither oppressive to the Christians nor severe to any of his other subjects; instead, he showed the Christians great respect and added to the honour in which Hadrian had been wont to hold them. For Eusebius Pamphili cites in his Ecclesiastical History[1] a letter of Hadrian in which the emperor is seen to threaten terrible vengeance upon those who harm in any way or accuse the Christians and swears in the name of Hercules that punishment shall be meted out to them. Antoninus is said to have been of an enquiring turn of mind and not to have held aloof from careful investigation of even small and commonplace matters; for this the scoffers called him Cummin-splitter. Quadratus states that he died at an ad-

[1] iv. 9.

ἡδίστην αὐτῷ κατ' ἴσον ὕπνῳ τῷ μαλακωτάτῳ γενέσθαι.—Xiph. 256, 28–257, 14 R. St.

4 Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου λέγεται καὶ φοβερώτατος περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου σεισμὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλας τε πόλεις καμεῖν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πεσεῖν ὁλοσχερῶς,[1] καὶ ἐξαιρέτως τὴν Κύζικον, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸν μέγιστόν τε
2 καὶ κάλλιστον ναῶν ἁπάντων καταρριφῆναι, ᾧ τετράοργοι μὲν πάχος οἱ κίονες ἦσαν, ὕψος δὲ πεντήκοντα πήχεων, ἕκαστος πέτρας μιᾶς, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἕκαστον θαυμάσαι πλέον ἢ ἐπαινέσαι. περὶ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειον ἄνω κορυφῆς ὄρους διαστάσης θαλάσσιόν φασιν ἐκχυθῆναι κῦμα, ἐπὶ πολύ τε τῆς γῆς ἐλθεῖν ῥιπιζομένην τὴν ἄχνην ἀκράτου καὶ διαυγοῦς θαλάσσης.

LXXI 1, 1[1] Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τό γε νῦν ἔχον τοσαῦτα, ἦρξε δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη.—Xiph. 257, 14–24 R. St.

[1] ὁλοσχερῶς R. Steph., ὁλωσχερῶς VC.

[1] It is not certain whether this earthquake belongs to the reign of Pius or to that of Marcus. If to the former, it must have occurred between 150 and 155. See *Hermes* xxvi. pp.

vanced age, and that his death, when it came, was most peaceful, like the gentlest slumber.

In the days of Antoninus it is said, also, that a most frightful earthquake occurred in the region of Bithynia and the Hellespont. Various cities were severely damaged or fell in utter ruin, and in particular Cyzicus; and the temple there that was the greatest and most beautiful of all temples was thrown down. Its columns were four cubits in thickness and fifty cubits in height, each consisting of a single block of marble; and in general the details of the edifice were more to be wondered at than to be praised. And in the interior of the country, they say, a mountain peak burst asunder and a flood of sea-water poured forth, and the spray from it, whipped by the wind, was driven to a great distance over the land—a spray of pure, transparent sea-water.[1]

So much of the account of Antoninus is now extant. He reigned twenty-four years.

444–446 (Boissevain: *Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaisergeschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander*) and xxxii. pp. 497–508 (B. Keil: *Kyzikenisches*); also *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* I, p. 30 ff. (article by de Boor).

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